

---

This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google™ books

<http://books.google.com>





THE  
UNIVERSITY  
OF CHICAGO  
LIBRARY







Respectfully presented to the  
Most Rev. Dr. Fitzpatrick  
Lord Abbot of the Cistercian  
Monastery CATECHISM Mount Mel-  
lery, Cappoquin  
OF  
by the author

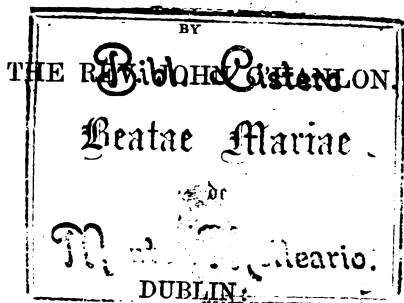
# IRISH HISTORY.

H-30

Jan 16th 1865

H-31

FROM THE EARLIEST EVENTS TO THE DEATH  
OF O'CONNELL.



JOHN MULLANY, 1. PARLIAMENT STREET.

1864.

31

DA 913

.036



HIS

HIS

## PREFACE.

---

**THERE** is probably no other country on the face of this earth, where patriotism takes a less practical course for social and political amelioration, than in our own island. Amongst the causes, sufficient to account for such a state of things, an indifference and a neglect to cultivate the study of Irish history may be considered as constituting the most obvious. And yet, this branch of education should be regarded, as a subject of surpassing interest, amongst all classes of our people. With few exceptions, indeed, a knowledge of this all-important and indispensable part of instruction has been sedulously eliminated from our schools, and by an almost necessary consequence, it has altogether escaped the attention of pupils. From the pages of history—and especially from the records of our own country—we should gather wisdom for future guidance, and closely examine the series of those concurrent causes and events, which have materially influenced the past and present condition of Ireland. From a correct appreciation and knowledge of historic facts and their application, the true patriot will be furnished with a powerful means for shaping the future prosperity, power and greatness of his country and her people.

It is almost impossible, even for intelligent, unpre-

judiced and educated persons to write or study history, and particularly that of their own country, without some political, national or religious bias. If, however, we would desire to treat its cultivation with advantage to ourselves, and to profit by the lessons it teaches, we should endeavour to divest our minds of passions, predilections and prejudices. We should examine historic records with patience, care and reflection; we should rise from their perusal, earnest, philosophic and patriotic students, and not heated, impracticable or thoughtless visionaries. We must not brood idly over past misfortunes and mistakes, nor despair in the face of present dangers and difficulties; the passive contemplation of former glories and successes should never furnish an inglorious and a despicable excuse to divert us from actively pursuing the means and objects, which increase and consolidate true national liberty—social, civil and religious. We should be prepared to condemn admitted abuses and defects in native customs, character and institutions, where condemnation would be found necessary; nor should we refuse to take lessons, even from the better devised plans, laws and practices of rivals or opponents, when the test of wisdom and experience warrants just and discriminating approval. This course we owe to our own mental culture and qualifications, as students, and to Irish history, as a most interesting subject for our constant and attentive study.

The true glory and greatness of a country must not

be tested by extent of dominion, nor by natural advantages of clime, soil and resources, but by the industry, energy, intelligence, enterprize, bravery, public spirit, refinement and virtues of its people. The smallest and least populated states have often furnished the most heroic and instructive lessons for approval and imitation. Populations change or modify their character and capabilities, no less than their institutions; and the causes that lead to their ultimate rise or fall are usually of slow but clearly perceptible growth. Individual exertion and influence have often contributed to infuse a great spirit of patriotic and virtuous resolve in the breasts of a people long enslaved, and therefore peculiarly liable to become degenerated or demoralized. Those great men, who by their learning, eloquence, energy, valour and virtue have laboured in the cause of country and religion, furnish the best and brightest examples for imitation. Their memory and actions should ever be presented to our recollection and afford incentives, for urging to still greater and more illustrious deeds. The very humblest rational and educated individual can render important service to his race and to all mankind, by active and persevering exertion. A whole people, virtuous, intelligent and resolved, must always command the respect of friends and foes, while they cannot fail to shape happily the destinies of their own country and generation.

Under each lesson, comprised in the following pages

the names of various writers or the titles of their works, serving to illustrate that particular period of history, or even subsequent eras, will be found. The author could have wished to indicate the precise value of those several authorities for purposes of historic illustration, in all, as he has attempted, in a few instances; but it soon became apparent, that this plan would have greatly enlarged the size of a book, which he desired originally to complete within a still fewer number of pages. Besides this consideration, it was feared, that an inexact appreciation of these writers and their works, or an unavoidable conciseness in describing their exact merits or demerits, might lead to erroneous or prejudiced conclusions. Having resolved on carefully collating and comparing the principal standard authorities, regarding each period of our history, before engaging on the present task, occasional discrepancies in original sources of information must not be taken too strictly into account, if a fair estimate of facts be deduced in the text, from an exact comparison of various concurring or discordant statements. It is only by patient, laborious, judicious and unprejudiced investigation, we can master the details and general features of history.

The student or teacher must not suppose, that the special works designated as authorities are all of equal importance, or that they exhaust a catalogue of excellent books published, and which might be named, in remote or immediate reference to this subject. Neither

are these books confined, in all instances, to a treatment of that particular series of events, with which they are found specially connected. Most generally, they have a discursive or partial bearing, particularly on facts detailed in succeeding lessons. They are usually introduced, at a period, when they begin to acquire importance for purposes of consultation, and they are arranged in that strict chronological order, which will often enable the learner to close these treatises with propriety, when a certain epoch or subject is presented before his mind; or he may continue their perusal, if current incidents therein related descend further along the stream of time. In all cases, whilst presenting a very considerable array of the most interesting tracts on Irish history, both printed and yet remaining in manuscript, the author has been desirous of avoiding all unnecessary repetition, by quoting them a second time.

A pleasing and yet saddening reminiscence occurs to the writer's mind, whilst sending this little volume before the Irish public. The pre-Christian period of our history, treated in its lessons, had the advantage of friendly suggestion and advice, of pains-taking perusal and critical correction from the late truly learned and eminent Professor of Irish History and Archæology in our Catholic University. Whilst the scope and plan of the present writer's earlier pages met a kindly and too flattering approval from this thoroughly honest, judicious and noble-hearted man, it would be unjust



to attribute—except to the author—particular errors, if discovered, and for which Eugene O'Curry is in no manner responsible. With that characteristic modesty, inseparable from true learning and worth, on many of these statements, he would not venture to pronounce an authoritative opinion. From the introduction of Christianity in Ireland to the date at which this compendious history closes, the writer had no assistance in his researches, but such as books, and occasionally, some MSS. afforded; but it fortunately happened, that less difficulty was experienced in dealing with facts of interest, falling within this latter period, because materials for investigation were easily accessible, sufficiently numerous, and, for the most part, perfectly authentic.

The objects, kept in view by the writer of this abridged Irish history, will find their best explanation, when inferred after an attentive perusal of the book itself. To place the salient dates, personages and events, epitomized from our rare, expensive or voluminous chronicles, in a cheap, clear, concise and consecutive form—to bring them within reach of nearly every Irish peasant in the land—to furnish an available manual for the use of elementary schools, private tuition or fireside reading—to enable even more advanced and educated persons to concentrate or expand their faculties on the diversity of subjects it embraces, whilst directing their mental energies and thirst for more exact and detailed knowledge towards

the best sources of information: these are important and useful combinations, when duly accomplished. According to the best of his ability and opportunities, the writer has endeavoured to achieve these objects. Whilst unimportant details have been studiously avoided, it is to be hoped, that few material facts of our history have been omitted. As the narrative approaches nearer our own times, it has been allowed a comparative modicum of expansion, without even attaining that full historic development, which would not serve a purpose and a plan contemplated by the writer. To dwell briefly on a series of really important events, reaching from the earliest authentic accounts to the death of Ireland's illustrious Liberator, Daniel O'Connell, was deemed sufficiently exhaustive to satisfy the first studious inquiries of a great majority amongst our children and adults.

The lessons contained within succeeding pages are compendious, and can scarcely fatigue a pupil's or a reader's attention. The catechetical method has been adopted, as best calculated to suit the capacity of a learner and the requirements of modern elementary instruction. This method, however, has been applied in substance rather than in form. Not to interrupt the continuity of narrative, it was deemed preferable to have the matter run in consecutive paragraphs. Suitable questions for examination are placed after each lesson, with corresponding references. Events are usually found in close connexion with their natural

causes, whilst facts have been arranged, with a due attention to chronological order. For a course of preparatory teaching, it would be undesirable to have these subjects treated within a briefer compass ; and most unquestionably, ample room is left for enlarging on the matter of each lesson, with advantage both to pupil and instructor.

*SS. Michael and John's,  
Lower Exchange-street, Dublin.*

# CONTENTS.

---

## LESSON I.

<b>PREFACE</b> .. .. .	iii
<b>The early traditionary and bardic accounts of Ireland</b> —Chronology—Partholan and his followers—Neim- hidh's colonization—The Fírbolgs—The Tuatha De Danann dynasty .. .. .	1

## LESSON II.

<b>Arrival and successes of the Milesians—Eremon and Eber-Finn divide the sovereignty of Ireland—Arrival of the Cruithneans or Picts—Internal dissensions— Reign of Tighernmas—Social distinctions and politi- cal division of this island—Anarchy—Traditions and antiquities of Ireland .. .. .</b>	6
--	---

## LESSON III.

<b>Ollamh Fodhla and his institutions—Succeeding events —Violent usurpations—Cimbaeth and Queen Ma- cha—Ugaine Mor and his territorial divisions— Disorganized state of society—Eochaidh, the Me- lancholic—Meadhbh, Queen of Connaught, and her victories—Conaire Mor .. .. .</b>	14
--	----

## LESSON IV.

<b>Crimhthann Niadhnair's reign—Massacre of the Mile- sian nobles by the Attacotti—The Milesian rule re- stored—Succeeding disasters—Tuathal the Legiti- mate—His successors—Conn of the Hundred Fights —Disturbances and usurpations .. .. .</b>	21
---	----

## LESSON V.

<b>Cormac Ulfhada's victories and political institutions— Succeeding kings—The two Fothadhs—The three Collas and their descendants—Eochaidh Muigh-</b>	
--	--

meadhoin and his posterity—Crimhthann's predatory expeditions—Niall of the Nine Hostages; his victories and posterity—Dathi .. .. 29

#### LESSON VI.

Mission of Palladius—St. Patrick's missionary career in Ireland—Contemporaneous kings—Progress of our early Christianity—Muircheartach Mor Mac Earca—Succeeding events—Reign of Diarmaid—St. Columbkille—Aedh's reign and the battle of Dun-bolg—Aedh Slaine and Colman Rimhe .. 39

#### LESSON VII.

Historical occurrences at the commencement of the seventh century—Domhnall's reign—The Buidhe Connail, or great plague—British and Saxon invasions—Battle at the Hill of Allen—Succeeding contests under various monarchs—Niall Frosach's reign and his retirement to a monastery—Donnchadh's ravages in the various districts of Ireland—Commencement of the Danish invasions, towards the close of the eighth century—State of religion and civilization at home, and Irish missionary enterprise abroad, during the seventh and eighth centuries .. 48

#### LESSON VIII.

Aedh Oirdnidhe's reign—Danish invasions and devastations—The reign of Connor—Niall Caille—Ravages of the Northmen under Turgesius, and his capture by Malachy—Reign of the latter over Ireland and his victories—Aedh Finnliath—Flann Sinna's sovereignty—Cormac MacCuileannan's military enterprises and untimely death. .. .. 58

#### LESSON IX.

Niall Glundubh—Donnchadh's reign—Callaghan, king of Munster, and Muircheartach MacNeill, king of Ulster—Conghalach—Donnel O'Neill—Maelseachlainn Mor—Brian Borumha, king of Munster—Public career before his accession to the sovereignty .. 71

LESSON X.

State of the Danish power in Ireland at the time of Brian Borumha's accession—Proceedings of that monarch—Confederation of the Danes and Leinstermen against him—The battle of Clontarf and death of Brian—Subsequent condition of the Norsemen and Irish .. .. .	78
---	----

LESSON XI.

Mealseachlainn Mor's accession, victories and death—Succeeding state of affairs—Donnchadh O'Brian, king of Munster—Diarmaid MacMael-na-mbo, king of Leinster—Turlough O'Brien, king of Munster—Muircheartach O'Brian, king of Munster, and Domhnall O'Lochlainn, king of Ulster—Literature and literary men—Wars frequently waged between Muircheartach and Domhnall—Decease of both these rival princes .. .. .	86
--	----

LESSON XII.

Intestine quarrels—Turlough O'Connor and his conquests—State of the Irish Church—St. Malachy O'Morgair—Close of Turlough O'Connor's reign—Roderick O'Connor, king of Connaught, and Muircheartach O'Lochlainn, monarch of Ireland ..	100
--	-----

LESSON XIII.

Accession and admitted supremacy of Roderick O'Connor—Convention of Athboy—Origin of the Anglo-Norman invasion—Landing of the invaders—Arrival of Strongbow—Opposition of Roderick—Debarkation of Henry II.—Submission of Roderick—Subsequent battles between the natives and foreigners—Treaty between Roderick O'Connor and Henry II.—Death of Strongbow—William Fitz Adelm's administration—St. Laurence O'Toole—Retirement of Roderick O'Connor to the Abbey of Cong—Death of Henry II.	110
---	-----

## LESSON XIV.

Affairs of Ireland during the reign of Richard I. in England—Death of Roderick O'Connor—Contests between rival families of the O'Connors—John de Courcy—Arrival of King John in Ireland—English charters extended to Anglo-Norman colonists of the pale, on Henry III's accession—Disturbances in Connaught—Felim O'Connor—King Henry requires military aid from Ireland—Rapacity of the English barons—Godfrey O'Donnell and Brian O'Neill—Victories of Irish chiefs over the English—Accession of Hugh O'Connor on the death of Felim—Defeat of Robert de Ufford, justiciary of Ireland, and Walter Burke, Earl of Ulster—State of Ireland at this period .. .. 128

## LESSON XV.

The Irish refused protection by an introduction of English law and usages—Recommendation of King Edward I.—Intestine broils—First acts of King Edward II.—Invasion of Edward Bruce—Arrival and departure of King Robert Bruce—Battle of Faughard—Other important Irish matters occurring during the reign of Edward I. and Edward II. .. 149

## LESSON XVI.

Condition of Ireland after the commencement of the fourteenth century—Turlough O'Connor's proceedings in Connaught—Acts of the Irish chief governors—Parliament at Kilkenny—First expedition of Richard II. to Ireland—Opposition of Art MacMurrough Kavanagh, King of Leinster—Second expedition of the English monarch—Foiled by his former brave opponent—State of Irish affairs after the commencement of the fifteenth century—Sir John Talbot's administration—Victories obtained by Irish chieftains—Death of Art MacMurrough, and estimate of his character and position .. .. 161

## LESSON XVII.

- Exclusion of natives from ecclesiastical benefices—  
 Wars amongst the Irish chiefs—English chief govern-  
 nors—Richard, Duke of York—The earls of Or-  
 monde, Desmonde, and Kildare—Decadence of  
 English colonial power—Quarrel between Hugh  
 Roe O'Donnell and Con O'Neill—Irish factions 179

## LESSON XVIII.

- Simnel's appearance in Ireland—Clemency and policy  
 of Henry VII. towards the Irish lords—Perkin  
 Warbeck lands in Ireland—Contests between the  
 Ulster chieftains—Sir Edward Poynings' administra-  
 tion—Hugh Roe O'Donnell—The Earl of Kildare  
 created lord lieutenant—Quarrels amongst the  
 O'Neills and O'Donnells—The Earl of Kildare's  
 victories in Connaught—Battle of Knockdoe—Death  
 of Hugh Roe O'Donnell .. .. 189

## LESSON XIX.

- The Earl of Kildare's administration and death—His  
 son summoned to England, and the Earl of Surrey  
 appointed Lord Lieutenant—Kildare's reinstatement  
 in office—Differences amongst the Irish chieftains—  
 Serious charges against the Earl of Kildare—Rebel-  
 lion of Silken Thomas—Its final issue—Commence-  
 ment of the Reformation in Ireland—Opposition of  
 the Catholic clergy and laity .. .. 201

## LESSON XX.

- Broils in Ulster and Connaught—The O'Conors of  
 Offaly—The young Geraldines—Irish intrigues with  
 foreign powers—Sir Anthony St. Leger—A parlia-  
 ment held in Dublin—Submission of Irish chieftains  
 and their reception of English titles—Disturbances  
 occasioned by the Geraldines, O'Mores of Leix and  
 O'Conors of Offaly .. .. 216



## LESSON XXI.

Submission of O'More, O'Connor and the Fitzgeralds—  
 Proceedings in Ulster—Introduction of the Reformed  
 Liturgy—Restoration of the Catholic Religion  
 under Queen Mary—The O'Briens of Thomond—  
 Subjugation of Leix and Offaly—Shane O'Neill de-  
 feated by Calvagh O'Donnell—The Scots in Ulster 224

## LESSON XXII.

Queen Elizabeth's Irish legislation—Contests in Mun-  
 ster—Shane O'Neill and the Earl of Sussex—Con-  
 duct of Shane after his return to Ireland—The Earls  
 of Desmond and Ormond—Wars of Shane O'Neill  
 and Sir Henry Sidney—Assassination of the Tyrone  
 Dynast .. .. . 235

## LESSON XXIII..

The Lord Deputy's visitation of Munster and Con-  
 naught—Hostilities and disturbances—The Irish  
 Parliament of 1569—Proceedings in the South and  
 West—The Earl of Essex—Sir Henry Sidney's mea-  
 sures—English treachery and cruelty towards the  
 native septs—Sir James Fitzmaurice's expedition—  
 Opposed by the Earl of Desmond and the govern-  
 ment—Its total failure and tragic end of Fitzmaurice 244

## LESSON XXIV.

The Geraldine insurrection—Lord Gray's defeat in  
 Wicklow—Massacre at Smerwick harbour—Death  
 of Earl Desmond—Sir John Perrott's administra-  
 tion—Disturbances in Connaught—Settlement of  
 Munster .. .. . 259

## LESSON XXV.

Imprisonment of Hugh Roe O'Donnell—Hugh O'Neill,  
 Earl of Tyrone—Wars in Connaught—Policy of  
 O'Neill—Escape of Hugh Roe O'Donnell to the  
 North—His first military achievements—Suspensions  
 entertained of the Earl Tyrone's loyalty—Disturb-  
 ances in Leinster—O'Neill renounces his allegiance—

United action of the Chiefs of Tyrone and Tyrconnell—Splendid campaign of O'Donnell—Various warlike movements—Irish victories in Connaught—Lord Justice Borough defeated in Ulster—Successful efforts of O'Neill and O'Donnell—English disaster at Tyrrell's Pass—Reverses sustained by the queen's forces in different parts of Ireland .. 275

## LESSON XXVI.

Negotiations for a treaty—War renewed—Insurrection in Leinster—Campaign in the North—Victory of Beal-an-atha-buy—Ounry Mac Rory O'More, Captain Tyrrell and Redmond Burke engage the English—War in the South—The Earl of Essex's expedition—Its total failure in Leinster and Munster—O'Donnell's great victory in the Curliou Mountains—Truce between O'Neill and the Earl of Essex .. 296

## LESSON XXVII.

Appointment of Lord Mountjoy as lord deputy and Sir George Carew as lord president of Munster—O'Neill proceeds southwards—Military operations in Munster and Leinster—O'Donnell's expeditions—Landing of the Spaniards at Kinsale—O'Donnell and O'Neill march to their assistance—Battle at Kinsale—Defeat of the Irish and Spaniards—O'Donnell embarks for Spain—Resistance of O'Sullivan Beare—Siege of Dunboy Castle—Death of Hugh Roe O'Donnell—The war in Ulster—Retreat of O'Sullivan Beare to Leitrim—Submission of O'Neill .. 311

## LESSON XXVIII.

First demonstrations of Irish Catholics on the accession of King James I.—Change of national laws and usages—Devices adopted to involve the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell in treasonable practices—Their flight from Ireland—Sir Cahir O'Dogherty's revolt—Subsequent plantation of Ulster—Contests in the parliament of 1613—Death of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone—Religious persecution—Iniquitous proceedings in escheating Leinster estates .. 336

## LESSON XXIX.

Irish events on the accession of King Charles I.—Wentworth's administration—His acts of duplicity, rapacity and despotism—His recall—Condemnation—Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase appointed Lords Justices—Remonstrances of the Irish Parliament—Causes that led to the celebrated Irish Rebellion of 1641—Plan of this insurrection—Its failure in Dublin .. .. 350

## LESSON XXX.

Application of the pale Catholic gentry for government protection—Sir Phelim O'Neill's success in Ulster—The Island Magee massacre—Progress of the Insurrection—The pale and aboriginal Irish Catholics confederate—Battle of Kilrush—Arrival of Owen Roe O'Neill, who assumes command of the Catholic forces—Reinforcements received on either side .. 366

## LESSON XXXI.

The Irish Catholic Confederation—Its constitution and ordinances—Its early proceedings—Various encounters between the Irish and English forces—Pacific overtures—Progress of these negotiations—Arrival of Rinuccini as Nuncio-Extraordinary in Ireland—Conclusion of the treaty .. .. 378

## LESSON XXXII.

The Ulster Irish oppose the treaty—The battle of Benburb—O'Neill marches southwards—Proceedings of the Papal Nuncio—Siege of Dublin—Subsequent actions of the Confederate Catholics—Dublin surrendered by Ormond to the parliamentary forces—Battle of Dungan Hill—Lord Inchiquin's campaign in Munster—Battle of Knocknoness—Divisions amongst the Confederates—Ormond's arrival from France to conclude a final peace, and departure of the Nuncio-Extraordinary for Rome .. .. 391

## LESSON XXXIII.

Conflict of parties and opinions—Ormond's defeat near Dublin—Oliver Cromwell lands in Ireland—Siege and massacre of Drogheda—Cruelties at Wexford—Death of Owen Roe O'Neill—Cromwell's campaign—Siege of Limerick by Ireton—Final submission of the Catholics—Their social, political and religious disabilities—Henry Cromwell governs Ireland until the death of his father, Oliver—Restoration of King Charles II. announced in Ireland .. .. 405

## LESSON XXXIV.

The Acts of Settlement and Explanation—The Irish Remonstrance—Irish trade and commerce—Popular rumours and ferment—The Irish Catholics' petition for redress—Ormond's recall and re-appointment—Persecution of Catholics—Martyrdom of Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh .. 416

## LESSON XXXV.

Accession of James II.—His first Irish appointment—Tyrconnell obtains power and influence—Effects produced on the minds of Catholics and Protestants—Sectarian excitement—Tolerance of the king—His dethronement and escape from England .. 429

## LESSON XXXVI.

Preparations for war in Ireland—Arrival of James II.—Siege of Londonderry—Legislative measures—Landing of Schomberg at Bangor—His subsequent critical position—The Prince of Orange arrives at Carrickfergus to assume command—Battle of the Boyne—Defeat and departure of James from Ireland—William raises the siege of Limerick .. 433

## LESSON XXXVII.

Dissensions in the Irish Army—Cork and Kinsale taken by the English—St. Ruth appointed to command the Irish—Siege of Athlone—Battle of Aughrim—Subsequent actions—Siege and capitulation of Limerick—Forfeitures—Violation of Limerick Treaty 444

## LESSON XXXVIII.

Contests between the Irish and English Parliaments—  
 Persecution of Catholics—Party differences—Penal  
 Laws—The English Parliament enforces supremacy  
 of rule—Dean Swift's exposure of Wood's patent—  
 Religious proscription .. .. 454

## LESSON XXXIX.

Irish Catholics deprived of the elective franchise—  
 Famine years and general depression of agriculture,  
 trade and manufactures—General uneasiness and  
 discontent—Political struggles—Partial toleration  
 granted to the Catholics—Charles Lucas' efforts—  
 A Catholic address to the throne received—A riot  
 in Dublin—Thurot lands with some French marines  
 in Ireland—Re-imbarks, is defeated and slain .. 463

## LESSON XL.

Agrarian disturbances—First advances made to Irish  
 independence, reform and religious toleration—  
 Organization of the Volunteers—Demand for Free  
 Trade conceded—Mr. Grattan's memorable motion  
 in 1780—Volunteer Convention at Dungannon—Mr.  
 Grattan's declaration of Irish Rights affirmed both  
 in the Irish and British Houses of Parliament .. 470

## LESSON XLI.

The Volunteer Convention in Dublin—Futile efforts to  
 obtain Reform—Disturbances in Ulster—General  
 public and social prosperity—Pitt's commercial pro-  
 positions—Successful movements of Irish Catholics  
 —Earl Fitzwilliam's brief administration—United  
 Irishmen's organization—Persecution of Catholics in  
 the north of Ireland—State of trade and commerce 478

## LESSON XLII.

Preparations for the Irish Rebellion—Arrival of a  
 French squadron in Bantry Bay—Events preceding  
 the outbreak of 1798—First engagements during the  
 month of May—Insurrection and battles in the

County of Wexford—Massacres and retaliation—Encounters in Ulster between the people and the military—Final dispersion of the southern insurgents—Subsequent conduct of the government—Landing of the French at Killala—English defeated at Castlebar—Surrender of the French at Ballinamuck—Defeat of a French expedition off the coast of Donegal—Suppression of the Rebellion .. ..	486
---	-----

### LESSON XLIII.

The policy of amalgamating the Irish and British parliaments designed by William Pitt—Its first manifestation in the Irish House of Commons—Popular opposition—Corrupt and despotic course taken by the Irish government of that time—The measure of a Legislative Union again proposed in 1800—Its final adoption by both Houses of Parliament ..	504
--	-----

### LESSON XLIV.

Rebellion of Robert Emmet—Efforts made to effect Catholic Emancipation—The Catholic Committee—The Catholic Board—Exertions of Daniel O'Connell—Agrarian outrages—Contests on the Veto question—Visit of George IV. to Ireland ..	512
--	-----

### LESSON XLV.

Defeat of a new bill introduced for the Emancipation of Catholics—Formation of the Irish Catholic Association in 1823—Biblical societies—Suppression of the Association—Examination of lay and clerical Catholics before a parliamentary committee—The new measure for Catholic freedom rejected by the House of Lords—A new Catholic Association formed—Its widely extended influence and combined action—The Clare Election of 1828—Emancipation at length obtained in 1829—Dissolution of the Catholic Association .. ..	522
---	-----

## LESSON XLVI.

- Catholics returned at the general election in 1830—  
 O'Connell's career of popular agitation—He advocates Repeal of the Union—Anti-Tithe campaign—  
 Parliamentary reform—Government opposition—  
 The O'Connell Annuity—Parliamentary discussion on  
 the question of Repeal in 1834—Whig and Tory administrations—The Earl of Mulgrave appointed  
 Lord Lieutenant—O'Connell's mission to England  
 and Scotland in 1836—Irish poor law and tithe  
 rent-charge .. .. 538

## LESSON XLVII.

- Father Mathew's great Temperance movement—  
 O'Connell's motives for postponing the Repeal  
 Agitation—The Precursor Society—Founding of the  
 Repeal Association in 1840—Commencement of his  
 new Agitation—Irish Municipal Reform achieved—  
 O'Connell's exertions in and out of Parliament—Dis-  
 cussion on Repeal of the Union in the Dublin Cor-  
 poration—The Repeal Monster Meetings of 1843 .. 551

## LESSON XLVIII.

- Proclamation issued by the Lord Lieutenant—Counter  
 proclamation of O'Connell—State Trial of 1844  
 —The House of Lords reverses the sentence—Dis-  
 sension created amongst the Repealers—The '82  
 Club—The Irish famine—Secession of the Young  
 Ireland party from the Repeal Association—Subse-  
 quent events—O'Connell's final efforts in parliament  
 —His death—Estimate of his personal character  
 and political career—Conclusion .. .. 562

# Catechism of Irish History.

## LESSON I.

The early traditionary and bardic accounts of Ireland—Chronology—Partholan and his followers—Neimhidh's colonization—The Firbolgs—The Tuatha Dé Danann dynasty.\*

[1.] THE early history of Ireland, like that of most countries, is blended with some fabulous accounts. [2.] Exaggerated popular traditions or bardic speculations, we may suppose, furnished the first uncertain authorities for our annalists. [3.] From the best statements, however, it would appear,

\* Many of the best authorities, for the early period of Irish History comprised in this first lesson, are yet (1862) unpublished. Amongst these may be enumerated the *Leabhar-Gabhála*, or, *History of the Invasions of Ireland*. It consists of a series of poems and documents, from the earliest accounts to the time of the English invasion, and it furnishes a collection of the authorities and sources of the Bardic History of Ireland. Some antient tracts, contained in the books of Leinster, Ballymote, and Lecain, are most useful; as also Duald Mac Firbisse's account of the Firbolgs, Tuatha De Dananns and Danes in Ireland. Amongst the works already published, the student is specially recommended to study O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. 1; O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*; the Irish version of the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius, edited by Dr. Todd, for the Irish Archæological Society the first volume of Lynch's *Cambrensis Eversus*, edited by Dr. Kelly, for the Celtic Society, and especially the Appendix to Chapter the Eighth, by the learned Editor; the first book of Dr. Keating's *General History of Ireland*.



that our Island had been covered for the most part with wood, when settled by the primitive colonists. Extraordinary eruptions of lakes, inundations of the sea, plagues, the clearing of wooded tracts, and the erection of various forts and cairns are recorded as having taken place, during the very remote periods, proximately succeeding the universal deluge.

[4.] Rejecting the romantic accounts regarding an antediluvian colonization, somewhat circumstantial—but not always reliable—statements have been made by Irish historians, with respect to the migratory adventurers that inhabited our Island after the flood. [5.] Adopting the computations of the Septuagint, as given by St. Jerome, the Deluge is referred to A.M. 2242, according to the Four Masters.

Throughout the succeeding pages of this history, their chronology has been followed to the period when their valuable compilation closes, if no intimation of dissent be otherwise conveyed.

[6.] The statements or opinions advanced are founded on various independent sources of information, as considered most reconcilable with truth or probability.

[7.] In the year of the world, 2520, Parthalon, a chief of the race of Japhet, with some followers, is said to have landed at Imver Sgene, in Kerry.

[8.] This chieftain fixed his residence in the province of Ulster, upon the island, called Inis-samer, in the river Erne. [9.] After the signal defeat of an invading race, denominated the Fomorians, who are said to have been African pirates, near Lough Swilly, in Donegal, Parthalon died at the plain between the Hill of Howth and Tallaght, thirty-

years after his arrival in Ireland. In the year 2820, we are told, that 9000 descendants of the early colonists were carried off by a plague during one week, in the same plain, and that Ireland afterwards remained a waste for the space of thirty years.

[10.] Neimhidh arrived in Ireland, A.M. 2850, with a number of colonists, from Scythia, through the Euxine sea. [11.] This chieftain gained some victories at first over the Fomorian, but was afterwards signally defeated. He died of a plague, together with 8000 persons, in the Great Island, at the entrance to Cork harbour. Thirty persons of the race of Neimhidh escaped from Ireland to different quarters of the world. It is related, that they returned subsequently to this country and were called Firbolgs. Neimhidh and his race continued in Ireland for the space of 216 years; and after this lapse of time, the country remained a wilderness, it is said, for a period of 200 years. [12.] It is probable, the climate of our Island had been rendered unhealthy by swamps and malaria, whilst generally covered with its dense and luxuriant woods of primeval growth.

[13.] The Firbolgs, who are also called Belgæ, by modern writers, took possession of Ireland, in the year of the world 3266. [14.] They came, it is said, from Greece, under the leadership of five chieftains, who ruled in succession over their followers, until the last surviving dynast Seangann was slain, in the year 3278. [15.] Intestine strife appears to have prevailed, until the arrival of a fresh host of invaders; for within the comparatively short period of fifteen years, three conse-

cutive monarchs came to a violent end, each one of these rulers having fallen, through the instrumentality of his successor. In the year 3294, Eochaidh MacErc seized upon the reins of government.

[16.] In the tenth year of Eochaidh MacErc's reign, A.M. 3303, the Tuatha Dé Dananns came to Ireland. [17.] They were opposed by the Firbolgs, and a great battle was fought near Cong, at the head of Lough Corrib. [18.] Here Eochaidh was killed and the Firbolgs were overthrown with great slaughter. Nine kings of the vanquished dynasty ruled, during the thirty-seven years of their sway over Ireland. [19.] The Tuatha Dé Dananns, after their victory, elected Breas as their first sovereign, A.M. 3304. [20.] In the seventh year of his reign, he resigned the sceptre to Nuadhat of the Silver-hand. [21.] The latter was killed in a battle fought, in the county of Sligo, by a Fomorian chief, named Balor, and after a reign of twenty years. [22.] Lewy of the Long-hands succeeded, A.M. 3331, and after a reign of forty years over Ireland, he was killed by Mac Cuill, at the hill of Uisneach, in Westmeath. Three monarchs are said to have succeeded, all of whom were slain. [23.] In the year 3471, the three last kings of Tuatha Dé Danann race began to reign as joint rulers over Ireland. [24.] They are named MacCuill, MacCeacht and MacGreine. Such is a brief abstract of generally received accounts, regarding these various colonists, who preceded the arrival of the Milesians in this Island.

## QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What may be observed regarding Irish history, at the most remote period ?
2. From what source is our information derived ?
3. What is stated regarding the natural condition and phenomena of Ireland ?
4. At what era may we begin to treat of the first Irish colonists ?
5. What computation has been generally observed, in referring to historic incidents ?
6. Whence are the statements and opinions contained in this history drawn ?
7. Who was Parthalon, and where is he supposed to have landed in this country ?
8. Where is he said to have resided ?
9. Relate his progress, and the circumstances connected with the extinction of his colony ?
10. Who succeeded Parthalon ?
11. What was the fate of Neimhidh and his people ?
12. Describe the natural causes, that might account for various plagues, recorded in Irish annals.
13. When did the Firbolgs arrive in Ireland ?
14. Whence did they come, and under whose guidance ?
15. What state of things prevailed during their rule ?
16. When did the Tuatha Dé Dananns land ?
17. Were they opposed, and by whom ?
18. What was the result ?
19. Who was the first Tuatha Dé Danann king ?
20. Who succeeded him ?
21. How long did Nuadhat of the Silver-hand reign ?
22. What fate befel Lewy of the Long-hands and his immediate successors ?
23. What arrangement took place in reference to the three last Tuatha Dé Danann kings ?
24. How were they called ?

## LESSON II.

Arrival and successes of the Milesians—Eremon and Eber-Finn divide the sovereignty of Ireland—Arrival of the Cruithneans or Picts—Internal dissensions—Reign of Tighernmas—Social distinctions and political division of this island—Anarchy—Traditions and antiquities of Ireland.\*

[1.] LIKE their Firbolgian and Tuatha Dé Danann predecessors in this country, an eastern origin is ascribed to the people, constituting our next great Celtic colony, and known by the name of Milesians. After various migrations, they are said to have arrived

\* In addition to the MSS. and published works already noticed, as serving to illustrate the statements contained in the First Lesson, the following treatises may be studied with advantage, in elucidating the contents of this Second Lesson : viz., Sir James Ware's *De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus ejus Disquisitiones*, and the Second Volume of Harris's unskillfully edited—but very valuable—issue of Ware's works, in two folio volumes, with engravings; L'Abbé Ma-Geoghegan's *Histoire de l'Irlande, ancienne et moderne*, tome i. partie i., and the English translation of this work; Pritchard's *Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations*; Wood's *Inquiry concerning the Primitive Inhabitants of Ireland*; Wright's *Louthiana*; D'Alton's *Essay on the Antient History, &c. of Ireland*; Wilde's *Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy*, and *Beauties of the Boyne and Blackwater*; Dr. Petrie's *History and Antiquities of Tara Hill*; Wakeman's *Archæologia Hibernica*; M'Curtin's *Vindication of the Antiquity of Ireland*; O'Connor's *Dissertation on the History of Ireland*. Amongst the works less worthy of reliance, in various passages, may be enumerated: Vallancey's *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*; Ledwich's *Antiquities of Ireland*; O'Brien's *Phœnician Ireland*, and *Essay on the Round Towers of Ireland*.

in Spain, whence a tribe of them sailed for Ireland, A.M. 3500, under the leadership of eight sons of Galamh, commonly called Milesius. [2.] The invaders landed on the coast of Kerry, and after a short rest, they advanced to the foot of the mountain, called Sliabh Mis, where they were opposed by a strong band of the Tuatha Dé Dananns. With a loss of 300 men, the Milesians were victorious. A thousand warriors are said to have fallen on the side of the Tuatha Dé Dananns. [3.] The victors followed up their success by obtaining a still greater triumph in a battle fought at Telltown, in Meath. [4.] Here, after a severe engagement, the three kings, MacCuill, MacCeacht and MacGreine, with great numbers of their people, were slain. The power of the Tuatha Dé Dananns being thus completely broken, the Milesians became masters of the country, by right of conquest.

[5.] The two brothers, Eremon and Eber-Finn, the sons of Milesius, assumed a joint sovereignty over Ireland, A.M. 3501. The former ruled the northern portion of the island; and all that part, lying south of the Boyne and Shannon, was under the jurisdiction of Eber-Finn. [6.] But a dispute having arisen between the brothers, a battle was fought at Geisill, in the King's County, in which the forces of the latter prince were defeated, whilst their leader was also found amongst the slain. [7.] Eremon assumed the sovereignty, and in the following year, made the four divisions of this island, which were known as Ulster, Munster, Connaught, and Leinster. These provinces were assigned to different rulers. Eremon himself is said

to have selected Tara, in Meath, as his place of residence.

[8.] During his reign, the Picts or Cruithneans, who are said to have originally migrated from Thrace and to have passed into France, came to Ireland and landed on the coast of Wexford.

[9.] Antient traditionary accounts assert that one of Eremon's chieftains had been engaged in the subjugation of a tribe of Britons, who had settled in this part of the country. [10.] The Picts were well received by Crimhthann-sciath-bél, the Milesian leader, and the latter, having obtained their assistance, defeated the Britons in a battle fought at Ard Leamhnachta\*—a place not yet identified. The Picts acquired some degree of importance in Ireland, and having intermarried with the daughters of the Milesians, they appear to have generally emigrated to Scotland, whilst others remained in this island, where they obtained some territorial possessions. [11.] After a successful career, Eremon died in the fifteenth year of his reign, A.M. 3516, leaving three of his sons joint rulers over the island. [12.] Three years had scarcely elapsed until their death took place—two of them having been killed in battle.

[13.] The sceptre was swayed by the descendants of Eremon and Eber-Finn, as the respective aspirants to the throne prevailed by force of arms. Many destructive battles are recorded, as having been fought, whilst certain internal improvements were also effected. The clearing of plains and the erection of forts are specially mentioned by our annalists.

\* In English, *New-milk Hill*.

[14.] In the year 8580, Tighernmas, the fourth in lineal descent from Eremon, ascended the throne. This prince was a renowned warrior, and he gained several victories over the race of Eber and against the Firbolgs. [15.] During his reign, the eruption of nine lakes and three rivers, in different parts of Ireland, took place. Gold was first smelted and wrought by a celebrated artificer of the eastern part of Leinster, about this period; and, according to some authorities, the worship of idols was introduced by this king into our island. A sort of planetary adoration—less gross and objectionable in its types and conception—would seem to have prevailed, during the previous reigns. A belief in magic arts and a species of Druidic paganism are supposed to have dominated over the minds and actions of the early colonists. [16.] Tighernmas is said to have died, A.M. 8656, on the plain of Magh-slecht, in the present county of Cavan, after reigning seventy-six years, according to the Four Masters.\*

[17.] An interregnum of seven years followed, if we are to credit the most general accounts of our annalists. [18.] In the year 8664, Eochaidh Eadghadhach began his reign as king over Ireland. [19.] To distinguish the various classes of his subjects, according to rank and precedence, he passed a sumptuary law regarding the article of dress. Slaves were obliged to wear clothes of a single colour; sol-

\* Keating's chronology allows this prince a reign of fifty years only, by commencing his term of rule with the year of the world, 2816, and ending it A.M. 2866. O'Flaherty assigns the beginning of his reign to A.M. 3011, and the end of it to A.M. 3034.



diers were allowed two different colours; distinguished warriors or lords of territories could assume three colours; ollamhs might wear six colours; only kings and queens were entitled to seven colours, to indicate the superiority of their rank. [20.] After a short reign of four years, Eochaidh was killed in a battle fought at Tara. [21.] Sobhairce and Cearmna-Finn, two brothers, succeeded him, A.M. 3668. [22.] They divided Ireland between them; the former taking up his residence at Dunseverick, near the Giant's Causeway, and the latter living in a fort on the old head of Kinsale, at the southern extremity of the island. The boundary line of these two divisions extended from the mouth of the river Boyne to the present city of Limerick. [23.] After a reign of forty years, both these princes fell in battle, A.M. 3707.

[24.] It must prove uninteresting for the general student of our history to enter upon a detailed account, regarding a long succession of dynasts, who followed in the sovereignty of this island. No fewer than eight successive princes were slain in a contest for the monarchy, which, as a matter of course, fell to the lot of the victorious rival. During this period innumerable battles are on record; and some of these are said to have been fought with the Firbolgs, Picts and other foreigners. The arts of design, manufactures and internal improvements appear however to have made some progress, notwithstanding the prevailing disorder and anarchy. [25.] A prince named Muineamhon, having killed his predecessor, A.M. 3867, the victor died of the plague, after a short reign of five years,

at Magh-Aidhne, a plain situated within the diocess of Kilmacdaugh and county of Galway. This monarch caused chains of gold to be worn around the necks of the kings and chieftains in Ireland. [26.] Faildeargdhoid succeeded, and after a reign of ten years, he fell by Ollamh Fodhla, in a battle which was decided in favour of the latter at Tara, A.M. 3882. [27.] Gold rings are said to have been first worn upon the fingers of accomplished or distinguished men and women in Ireland, during the rule of Faildeargdhoid.

[28.] The most probable conjectures that can be formed, and even all existing monumental evidence, regarding the primitive inhabitants of this island, appear quite consistent with the received accounts of our early traditions and history. An eastern origin assigned to most of our first colonists, and a language traced to oriental sources; habits, customs, superstitions, arts and sciences, ornaments, dress and domestic utensils, &c., have been noticed by many writers, and compared with sacred and profane records, referring to analagous practices and objects in the distant countries of the east. [29.] Our museums furnish numerous and incontestible illustrations of Ireland's social state and advanced civilization, at a very remote period. Popular opinions and usages, at the present day, reflect the leading characteristic themes of bardic song and storied annals. Local nomenclature, comparative philology, rude or well-fashioned instruments for warfare and domestic purposes, articles used for personal decoration, raths and duns, druidic circles, cairns, cromlechs, moats

and sepulchral monuments serve to test the truthfulness of historic or traditionary statements, and in numberless instances afford the best corroboration of recorded and remote events. [30.] Irish archæologists and historiographers have laboured to some purpose during the present century, in collecting, preserving and illustrating the remains of ancient art and the records of past ages. Nor can the philosophic investigator and antiquarian object to a process of rational inquiry, which has served to dissipate unsound theories and to direct the diligent student of our country's history towards the most reliable sources of information and profitable research.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. Describe the origin and migrations of the Milesian colony.
2. Where did the invaders land in Ireland and with what result?
3. Where did they achieve their most decisive victory?
4. What was the issue of this battle?
5. What arrangement took place between Eremon and Eber Finn?
6. What was the result?
7. Relate the first acts of Eremon on assuming the sovereignty.
8. Who were the next invaders of Ireland and where did they land?
9. What followed?
10. Describe the subsequent progress of the Picts.
11. When did Eremon die?
12. What was the fate of his three sons?
13. What was the state of Ireland at a later period?
14. Who was Tighernmas?
15. What are the recorded events of his reign?
16. When did he die and how long did he reign?

17. Had he an immediate successor?
18. Who was the next king?
19. What regulations were made by Eochaidh Eadghadhach?
20. What fate befel him?
21. Who were his successors?
22. Did any remarkable division of the country take place during their term of rule?
23. How long did they reign?
24. Could you give a general idea of this country after their death?
25. What particulars are recorded, regarding the reign of Muineamhon?
26. Who succeeded him, when, where and by whom was Faildeargdhoid killed?
27. What social distinction was introduced about this time?
28. Mention some of the reasons for attaching importance to the early accounts of Irish history.
29. What evidences are furnished in corroboration and illustration?
30. May the present state of knowledge, in reference to our history and antiquities, be considered satisfactory?

## LESSON III.

Ollamh Fodhla and his institutions—Succeeding events—Violent usurpations—Cimbaeth and Queen Macha—Ugaine Mor and his territorial divisions—Disorganized state of Society—Eochaidh, the Melancholic—Meadhbh, Queen of Connaught, and her victories—Conaire Mor.\*

[1.] In the year 3883, the celebrated Eochaidh, better known by the title of Ollamh Fodhla,† began his reign. [2.] This monarch appears to have been actuated by liberal motives and an enlightened policy, when he established the Feis-Teamhrach or triennial assembly of Tara. Thither were sum-

\* Besides the MSS. and published works already recommended as worthy the student's attention, the following may be added, for confirmation or elucidation of statements, contained in the present Lesson. The MSS. best known or most useful are : the antient romantic tract, called the *Táin Bo Chuailgné* ; the *Reim Rioghraidhe*, or, *Succession of the Kings* ; the *Leabhar na h'Uidhre*, or, *Book of the Dun Cow* ; the antient MS. known as the *Coir Anmann*, or, *Treatise regarding a Derivation of the Names of Historical Characters* ; various genealogies, pedigrees, historic and imaginative tales and poems, so admirably described and analysed in Professor O'Curry's *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Antient Irish History*, Lect. x. xi. xii. xiii. xiv. Amongst printed books, which are accessible, may be named the well-written—but not always correct—articles on Antient Irish Biography, contained in the *Irish Penny Magazine* of 1833 ; excellent antiquarian sketches in the *Dublin Penny Journal* of 1832 to 1836, and in the *Irish Penny Magazine* of 1840, 1841 ; Wood's *Analysis of the History and Antiquities of Ireland, prior to the Fifth Century*.

† Pronounced Ollāv Fōla, i.e., the Ollamh or Chief Poet of Fodhla or Ireland.

moned the chieftains, priests, bards, learned men and commoners, to deliberate on the affairs of the kingdom, to assist in the framing of new laws and the repealing or revision of objectionable enactments, to examine and authenticate the records and chronicles of the Island, which, when approved by the members of this great national assembly, were afterwards transcribed and inserted in a book, called the *Psalter of Tara*. Certain laws, regulating the tenure of land by chieftains and farmers, are said to have been introduced by this monarch. [3.] He died at Tara, after having reigned forty years over Ireland.

[4.] Three sons of Ollamh Fodhla afterwards ruled in immediate succession. The last of these fell by the hands of his nephew, Finnachta, who, in turn was dethroned and slain by his first cousin, Bearnghal. The latter was also killed by his first cousin, Oilioll. [5.] According to the genealogy of eight succeeding monarchs, the sovereignty passed away from the immediate descendants of Ollamh Fodhla, until restored to his line, in the person of Finn, A.M. 4249. This prince reigned about twenty-two years and was slain by his successor, Sedna. A like fate befel the latter and his three immediate successors. [6.] Enda Dearg ascended the throne, A.M. 4308. During his regal term, a mint is said to have been established and money coined at Airgiod-Ross, on the river Nore, in Ossory. After a reign of twelve years, he died of a plague, at Sliabh-Mis, in Kerry, A.M. 4319. Many persons perished at the same place and period, owing to the same distemper.

[7.] No less than thirteen kings in succession came to a violent end; the reins of government being seized, in all cases, by the successful murderer or usurper. [8.] Afterwards, Aedh Ruadh obtained the sovereignty, A.M. 4470. According to the Four Masters and other chroniclers, by a sort of compact, this prince agreed to divide his jurisdiction with Dithorba and Cimbaeth. In consequence of this arrangement, each of the three princes ruled for a term of seven years, in orderly succession; and, singular to relate, each one of them completed three separate terms, or twenty-one years. Aedh Ruadh was drowned at Assaroe, near Ballyshannon, A.M. 4518. [9.] The judicious and learned Irish annalist, Tighernach, who flourished in the eleventh century, asserts—but he gives no reason for such assertion—that all the monuments of our nation are of doubtful authority, before the time of Cimbaeth. The cause of this want of authenticity in our records might be owing to the disturbed state of the kingdom and to the frequent interruption of that state of tranquillity necessary for executing the wise decretals of the politic and renowned monarch, Ollamh Fodhla.

[10.] Cimbaeth's third term of sovereignty expired, A.M. 4532, when Macha, a celebrated heroine and the daughter of Aedh Ruadh, asserted her right to succeed, by virtue of the title inherited, in consequence of her father's decease. [11.] Dithorba and Cimbaeth opposed her claim. A battle took place, in which Macha defeated them, and having banished the former with his five sons to the district of Borann, in Connaught, she after-

wards married Cimbaeth and gave him the sovereignty. We are told, that she obliged the vanquished sons of Dithorba to erect, near Armagh, the fort of Eamhain, usually Latinized, Emania.

[12.] Here Cimbaeth died, in the year 4539, and Macha is said to have survived him for the space of seven years, when she was slain by her successor, Reachtaidh Righdhearg. [13.] After a reign of twenty years, the latter was killed by Ugaine Mor, who thus revenged the death of his foster-mother, Queen Macha.

[14.] Ugaine Mor, or Ugony the Great, is thought to have carried his conquests to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. He is said to have divided Ireland into twenty-five districts, which were apportioned amongst his twenty-two sons and three daughters, and it is stated that this division of territory lasted for three hundred years after his time. He also exacted an oath of allegiance from his subjects in behalf of his posterity. [15.] He ruled over Ireland forty years, when he was slain by Badhbhchadh. [16.] The latter only survived one day and a-half, when the death of Ugaine Mor was avenged by his son Laeghaire Lorc. [17.] The latter was killed about two years afterwards at Wexford, by Cobhthach Cael Breagh. After a long reign of fifty years, this prince was defeated and killed in a battle fought at Dinnrigh, near Leighlin-bridge, on the western bank of the river Barrow. Thirty kings are said to have shared his fate. [18.] The victorious Labhraidh Loingseach, so celebrated in Irish traditionary accounts, succeeded. This king and his five immediate successors were



slain. [19.] Connla the Comely died a natural death at Tara, after a reign of twenty years, A.M. 4757. His four successors came to a violent end. Aengus Tuirmheach Teamhrach, after having ruled sixty years, died at Tara, A.M. 4875. Four succeeding princes were slain. Rory the Great retained the sovereignty thirty years, according to some accounts, and seventy years, if we credit other statements. He died through natural causes, A.M. 4981, at Airgeat-gleann, in the present county of Monaghan. Six successive monarchs were cut off by the sword.

[20.] In the year 5058, Eochaidh, surnamed Feidhleach, or, the Melancholic, assumed the sovereignty. [21.] This king is said to have divided the island into five provinces, over each one of which he placed a provincial ruler, tributary to himself. He had three sons and six daughters. The most celebrated of all these children was the heroine Meadhbh, married to Tinne, the king of Connaught. [22.] After his death, she ruled over that province as Queen, and then married Oilioll, making him also her partner in royalty. Oilioll was assassinated by Conall Cearnach, at Cruachan, the Connaught palace, erected by the Queen. A war of seven years afterwards occurred between the people of Ulster and Connaught, in which Meadhbh distinguished herself by a successful invasion of the former province. Meadhbh is said to have attained a very advanced age. [23.] After a reign of twelve years, Eochaidh Feidhleach died at Tara. [24.] He was succeeded by his brother, Eochaidh, surnamed Aireamh. [25.] This prince appears to

have been so called, either because he improved the mode of ploughing and cultivating the land in Ireland, or on account of his having introduced the practice of digging caves in the earth and cellars under houses.\*

[26.] Conaire Mor or the Great began his reign, A.M. 5091. According to the Four Masters, peace and plenty characterised the period of his sovereignty, which lasted for seventy years, whilst other accounts only allow him a reign of thirty years.

[27.] He is said to have been slain by insurgents, at a place, antiently called Bruighean-da-Dhearga, which is described as being situated on the river Dodder, near Dublin. His death occurred A.M. 5160.

\* *Aireamh* signifies of the ploughing, digging, or, turning the ground. I am informed by Professor O'Curry, that he has the authority of the old Irish tract, *Coir Aumann*, for the statement given in the text. Lynch (*Cambrensis Eversus*, cap. viii.) says, that this prince was called *Aremh*, because he was the first to have tombs dug in Ireland—*Vamh*, in Irish, having the signification *tumulus*, in Latin. I find that Dr. Kelly, the editor and translator of Lynch's work, asks, in a note, how this assertion can be reconciled with the accounts of the Royal Cemeteries of the Tuatha Dé Dananns, Firbolgs, and others, at Cruachan, Tailtin, and on the banks of the Boyne. In Dermot O'Connor's translation—Keating's *General History of Ireland*—it is stated, that the Irish word *Aireamh* signifies a grave, and that Eochaidh received his surname from the circumstance of having first introduced the custom of burying the dead in graves, dug within the earth. Before his time, our Pagan ancestors are said to have covered the bodies of their dead, by raising great heaps of stones over them. Most of our modern historians have followed these latter statements; and yet, I am assured by Professor O'Curry, that in the best versions of Keating's original Irish, there is no warrant whatever for such assertions.

## QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. Who began his reign, A. M. 3883 ?
2. What proceedings distinguished his rule ?
3. How long did he reign ?
4. Who were his immediate successors ?
5. Was the succession continued in Ollamh Fodhla's line ?
6. What took place during the term of Enda Dearg's sovereignty ?
7. What was the fate of thirteen succeeding kings ?
8. What followed on Aedh Ruadh's accession ?
9. Are our Irish records reliable before this period ?
10. Who was Macha, and what were her pretensions to the throne ?
11. Was she successful ?
12. What happened on the death of Cimbaeth ?
13. Who avenged the queen's death ?
14. What is related of Ugaine Mor ?
15. How long did he reign ?
16. What happened to Badhbhchadh ?
17. Describe the principal events of Coblhthach Cael Breagh's sovereignty.
18. How did Labhraidh Loingseach and his five immediate successors die ?
19. What particulars are related of Conla the Comely and the succeeding monarchs ?
20. Who succeeded in 5058 ?
21. What remarkable division of the kingdom was made ?
22. Relate the events of Queen Meadhbh's provincial sway.
23. When did Eochaidh Feidhleach die ?
24. Who came next in order ?
25. Why is he supposed to have been surnamed Aireamh ?
26. When did Conaire Mor commence his term ?
27. How, when and where did he die ?

## LESSON IV.

**Crimhthann Niadhnair's reign—Massacre of the Milesian nobles by the Attacotti—The Milesian rule restored—Succeeding disasters—Tuathal the Legitimate—His successors—Conn of the Hundred Fights—Disturbances and usurpations.\***

[1.] DURING the remarkable epoch of our divine Redeemer's birth, Crimhthann Niadhnair ruled over the destinies of Ireland. The latter appellation appears to have been bestowed on him because of his bravery and many conquests.

[2.] On his return from a famous expedition, and with many valuable trophies of victories obtained, he is said to have been killed by a fall from his horse at Dun Crimhthainn, supposed to have been the site of the present Bailie lighthouse, on the Hill of Howth, near Dublin. [3.] He reigned sixteen years, and died in the ninth year of the Christian era, according to the Four Masters.

[4.] It would seem, that a remarkable revolution broke out, soon after the death of Crimhthann Niadhnair. It is said, that a plebeian and helot people, called the Aitheach Tuatha, usually Latinized Attacotti, almost entirely exterminated the Milesian nobility, and afterwards selected as king one of their own-race, a man known by the

\* The books and MSS. already referred to in the previous lessons are authorities and illustrations for statements found in the present lesson. Besides these, O'Flanagan's *Annals of Innisfallen*, (Irish and English translation), and Walsh's *Prospect of the State of Ireland, from the year of the World, 1756, to the year of Christ, 1652*, are worthy of being added.

title of Cairbre the Cat-headed. [5.] The Aitheach Tuatha are said to have been the descendants of the Firbolgs and other early Irish colonists, who had lapsed into a state of servitude and degeneracy, under the dominant sway of the Scoti or Milesians. Some of the Milesians themselves also fell into the condition of rent-payers and joined in this rebellion. During the short reign of Cairbre, which lasted only five years, the island is said to have been afflicted with famine. [6.] After his death, A.D. 14, the Aitheach Tuatha offered the sovereignty of Ireland to his wise son, Morann, who refused, however, to accept it, and advised his people to send for three legitimate heirs to the throne, who were living in foreign countries. [7.] This suggestion was adopted: Fearadhach the Just, son of Crimhthann Niadhnaire, was appointed king, and Morann became his chief brehon or judge. During the twenty-two years of Fearadhach's rule abundant harvests prevailed in Ireland. The king died at Tara, A.D. 36.

[8.] Fiatach the Fair succeeded, and after a short reign of three years, he was slain by Fiacha of the White Cattle. At the instigation of the Aitheach Tuatha, as we are told, the latter prince was killed by the four provincial kings of Ireland, in a battle fought at Magh-bolg, in the county of Cavan. [9.] Elim, king of Ulster, became his successor in the sovereignty of the island. During the twenty years of his reign a remarkable dearth prevailed, and this sore affliction is attributed to the chastisement of Heaven, which was visited on the people, as a consequence of their evil deeds.

[10.] Elim was slain by Tuathal the Legitimate, son of Fiacha of the White Cattle, at Aichill, the antient name of the Hill of Skreen, near Tara, in the county of Meath.

[11.] The victor, who is celebrated in Irish chronicles,\* ascended the throne, and obtained a series of successful battles, in various parts of the island, over his opposers. The Aitheach Tuatha were reduced to obedience in the several provinces, and tranquillity was thus restored throughout the kingdom.

[12.] Tuathal called together a general assembly at Tara, when the princes and chieftains of the island entered into a solemn compact of allegiance to himself and to his legitimate successors in the monarchy.

[13.] He separated a portion of territory from each of the four provinces, which he formed into the mensal district of Meath, as being more immediately subject to his authority. In each of these territories, he is said to have built a palace, where he held periodical conventions, for various purposes. At the royal palace of Tara, he re-established the triennial parliaments, first instituted by Ollamh Fodhla, and which had been repeatedly interrupted by usurpations and domestic broils. Laws, for the revision and preservation of the country's annals, for the recording of ascertained family pedigrees, for the regulation of mechanics and artificers, and

\* The Annals of the Four Masters date the first year of his reign, A.D. 76. Dr. O'Donovan, however, appears to think, that their chronology is here antedated by many years. Keating places the commencement of this monarch's reign at A.D. 79; and O'Flaherty at a still later period—viz., A.D. 130.

for various social and heraldic observances, were adopted at these assemblies. [14.] During his reign a heavy tribute was imposed on Eochaidh-Aincheann, king of Leinster.

[15.] The latter prince, having married Dairine, the eldest daughter of Tuathal, kept her concealed in his province, and then pretended she had died. About a year after his first marriage, he requested the king of Ireland to continue their family alliance, by bestowing the hand of a younger daughter, Fithir. The romantic story of the death of both these princesses occasioned by grief, soon after they had met at the palace of the deceitful and treacherous king of Leinster, reached the ears of Tuathal. Having summoned his chiefs and vassals to avenge the abused honour and the wrongs of his daughters, he ravaged the Leinster province with fire and sword, and the outraged yet merciful monarch agreed to accept the submission of Eochaidh, on condition of his paying the fine, known as the Borumha-Laighean. [16.] The king and people of Leinster, during the reigns of forty succeeding monarchs of Ireland, paid this tribute every second year. [17.] After a glorious reign of thirty years, Tuathal was slain by Mal, son of Rochraidhe, king of Ulster, on the hill of Ceanngubha, supposed to be identical with the present Ballyoley hill, in the county of Antrim. The pile of rude stones, ranged in an irregular circle, and at a place called Carndoo, is also conjectured to indicate the exact site of sepulture and the monument of Tuathal.

Mal reigned four years and fell by the sword of his successor, Feidhlimidh Reachtmhar, son of

Tuathal the Legitimate. [18.] Having enacted a law of retaliation for the repression of various crimes, this king died a natural death, after a reign of nine years. [19.] Cathaeir Mor, or the Great, succeeded, A.D. 120, according to the Annals of the Four Masters. After a reign of three years, we are informed that he was slain in the battle of Magh-h-Agha, by Conn of the Hundred Fights and by the Fian or militia of Luaighne. [20.] It is said that Cathaeir had thirty sons. Twenty of these sons died and left no issue: the remaining ten married, had many children, and from these descended some of the most noble Irish families.

[21.] The hero of the Hundred Fights appears to have encountered a formidable rival in Eoghan Mor, otherwise called Mogh Nuadhat, king of Munster. [22.] The latter defeated Conn in ten different battles, and obliged the monarch to divide the island, by a line running east and west, extending from Dublin to Galway, and defined by a range of gravel hills, called the Eiscir-Riada. The northern part of this territorial division, named Leath Cuinn, or Conn's Half, was assigned to the acknowledged monarch; whilst the southern portion obtained the appellation of Leath Modha, or Modha's Half, over which the Munster prince exercised independent jurisdiction. [23.] After a reign of thirty-five years over Ireland, the hero of the Hundred Fights was treacherously slain in the vicinity of Tara, whilst making preparations for the Feis Teamrach or general assembly.

[24.] Conaire II. was the next monarch, and



he fell by a violent death, after a reign of eight years. [25.] He was succeeded by Art the Melancholic, son of Conn of the Hundred Fights. Internal dissensions prevailed during this period; and after reigning thirty years, Art was killed in the battle of Magh-Mucruimhe, a plain near Athenry, in the county of Galway. Lughaidh, also called Mac Con, was victorious in this contest, aided, it is said, by Beinne Brit, son of the king of Britain, and some foreigners, under the command of this latter brave warrior. [26.] Lughaidh swayed the sceptre for thirty years, according to the Four Masters, whilst other chroniclers shorten the period of his reign very considerably, and Dr. O'Connor does not even regard him as one of the monarchs of Ireland. [27.] Lughaidh was treacherously slain, A.D. 225, at Gort-an-oir, near Cahir, in the county of Tipperary. [28.] His successor, Fearghus of the Black Teeth, also came to a violent end in the following year, when he fell at the river Boyne, in the battle of Crinna, with two of his brothers. The victorious Cormac, grandson to Conn of the Hundred Fights, won by his sword a title to the succession.

[29.] It will be seen, from the melancholy record already produced, that regal claims were more successfully maintained by the strong arm of military prowess, than by the right of hereditary descent. Such a state of things almost necessarily resulted from the peculiar nature and form of executive government in our island, at this early period of her history; nor was the inherent evil of domestic feuds and conflicting interests removed, when a more advanced degree of enlightenment

should have taught her people the secret of their degeneracy and weakness, or should have disclosed to her sages and patriots those effectual remedies, which might counteract the disorders of a defective constitution. Nominal fealty to the reigning sovereign, on the part of powerful, warlike and ambitious chieftains, produced the consequences usually occurring in all countries, where the history and traditions of a turbulent race recal the memories of successful intrigue, rapine and conquest. The science of a consolidated government does not appear to have been properly appreciated and reduced to a practical or perfect system, by any of the rulers that swayed in succession the destinies of this island, during the period preceding the introduction of Christianity amongst our ancestors. And even after the prevalence of more civilizing influences and a pure religion, those intestine broils and petty quarrels continued to excite the minds and inflame the passions of princes and people, as the dictates of selfish ambition prompted or the necessities of self-defence required. Law and order having been disturbed by such frequent and rude shocks, moral right often yielded to physical force; and the want of centralization and effective control in the direction of public affairs left our island a prey to anarchy and misrule—preparing by divisions and bloodshed the extinction of native rule and the easy accomplishment of foreign conquest.

## QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. Who ruled over Ireland at the commencement of the Christian era ?
2. How did he die ?
3. How long did he reign ?
4. What remarkable rebellion afterwards took place ?
5. Who were the Aitheach Tuatha ?
6. What course of policy did they adopt after the death of Cairbre ?
7. What happened during the reign of Fearadhach the Just.
8. Who succeeded ?
9. What occurred during Eilim's rule ?
10. By whom was he killed and where ?
11. Relate the early events of Tuathal's reign.
12. What took place on convoking the assembly at Tara ?
13. What regulations were made ?
14. What remarkable exaction did he impose ?
15. Narrate the origin of the Leinster Tribute.
16. How long is it said to have been enforced ?
17. What is the account referring to Tuathal's death ?
18. What general law came into operation during the time of Feidhlimidh Reachtmhar ?
19. When did Cathair Mor begin to reign, and by whom was he killed ?
20. How many sons is he said to have had ?
21. Who opposed Conn of the Hundred Fights ?
22. What division of the island was made, as a consequence of the battles fought ?
23. How long did Conn reign, and what fate befel him ?
24. Who followed in the sovereignty ?
25. Describe the events of the reign of Art the Melancholic
26. What are the statements of our annalists regarding Lughaidh's term of rule ?
27. How did he fall ?
28. Was his successor more fortunate ?
29. What considerations are suggested on a review of the previous reigns of our monarchs ?

## LESSON V.

Cormac Ulfhada's victories and political institutions—Succeeding kings—The two Fothadhs—The three Collas and their descendants—Eochaidh Muighmeadhoin and his posterity—Crimhthann's predatory expeditions—Niall of the nine Hostages; his victories and posterity—Dathi.\*

[1.] IN the year 227, according to the chronology of the Four Masters, Cormac Ulfhada commenced his reign. [2.] This renowned prince is said to have been victorious in thirty-six engagements, fought against the people of Ulster, Connaught, and Munster. Tighernach makes mention of Cormac's marine excursion with a large fleet. This enterprise lasted for the space of three years.

\* Besides many of the former works, the following will be found serviceable, in tracing the events or contemporaneous history treated in the present lesson: viz., the MS. entitled, *Teasgasg Ri*; the printed books—*Ordnance Survey Memoirs of the Parish of Templemore*; O'Donovan's *Genealogies, Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach*; the Ossianic Society's Irish and English versions of the *Battle of Gabhra*, of the *Festivities at the house of Conan of Ceann-Sleibhe*, of the *Pursuit after Diarmuid O'Duibhne and Grainne*, the daughter of Cormac Mac Airt, of *Fenian Poems*, of the *Proceedings of the great Bardic Institution*; the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*; Lombard's *De Regno Hiberniæ, Sanctorum Insula, Commentarius*; *Transactions of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society*; *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*; *Transactions of the Ibero Celtic Society*; O'Donovan's *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many*; *Haverty's History of Ireland*, chap. i. to viii.; the different historians that treat of the early period of Scottish, English and French history and antiquities, in various languages, and in connexion with Irish colonization or expeditions.

[3.] The same authority records the expulsion and deposition of Cormac, by the Ultonians, A.D. 236; and, it would appear, that the dethroned king afterwards obtained the sovereignty of Alba or Scotland. Once more did he succeed in asserting his claims to the throne of Ireland. [4.] It is supposed that Cormac's mind had received some enlightenment on the great truths of natural or revealed religion, and that his rejection of paganism had arrayed the druids in hostility against him, especially towards the close of his reign. Wise maxims and politic precepts, calculated to preserve manners, morals and government in the kingdom, are found in a book entitled *Teasgasg Ri*,\* the authorship of which is attributed to this monarch. [5.] He summoned the chroniclers of Ireland to Tara, and directed them to write the annals of their country, according to a judicious plan of synchronism devised by himself. The coeval reigns and exploits of the kings of Ireland and annals of the subordinate provinces were set down with incidents regarding contemporaneous sovereigns in other parts of the world; the rents and tributes required from provincial rulers and the various classes of dependents were registered; the boundaries of provinces, cantreds, townlands and even smaller divisions of land were accurately defined. These particulars were noted in a famous record, called the *Psalter of Tara*. Cormac instituted admirable codes of law, and he appears to have promoted military discipline, social and political amelioration, during the course of his long reign. [6.] A dark deed of

\* Anglicised, *Princely Institutions*.

female massacre, perpetrated at Tara by his own father-in-law, Dunlang, king of Leinster, was avenged by the monarch. Not only was Tuathal's tribute exacted with an additional increase as an *eric* or compensation, but twelve dynasts of Leinster were executed as perpetrators or accomplices of this foul crime. [7.] Cormac expelled the Deisi from the territories of Meath to Leinster, whence they afterwards removed to the southern part of Munster. [8.] After a term of forty years, owing to an accident, this monarch died, A.D. 266, at Cleiteach, on the river Boyne.

[9.] Eochaidh Gonnat,\* the next proclaimed king of Ireland, was slain by Lughaidh Meann, an Ulsterman, after a reign of one year. [10.] Cairbre Liffeachair, so called because he was fostered near the river Liffey, succeeded, A.D. 268. He was the son of Cormac and the grandson of Art. [11.] During his reign, he fought seven battles against the people of Munster and in defence of the reputed rights of Leinster. [12.] In the seventeenth year of his sovereignty, Moghcorb, grandson of the renowned hero Finn Mac Cumhail, encountered the monarch in a sanguinary battle, fought at Gabhra, near Tara. Osgar, the son of Ossian, so well known in Irish bardic and popular traditions, met Cairbre in single combat and fell; but on retiring from this encounter severely wounded, the king was struck down with a blow, dealt by his own relative, Semeon. These occurrences are referred to the year 284.

\* The annalist Tighernach omits the name of this king, and places Cairbre Liffeachair next in succession to his father, Cormac..

[13.] Two brothers, named Fothadh Cairptheach and Fothadh Airgtheach, succeeded Cairbre; but they only reigned one year. Fothadh Airgtheach, through jealousy, slew his brother. The survivor was afterwards slain by Caeilte Mac Ronain, in a battle fought near the Larne river, county of Antrim, A.D. 285.\* [14.] The following year was the first of Fiacha Sraibhtine's sovereignty over Ireland. This prince fought a battle at Dublin against the Leinstermen; and three other battles are recorded as having been contested during his reign, which is said to have lasted thirty-seven years. [15.] He was killed in an engagement—supposed to have taken place at the confluence of the rivers Boyne and Blackwater—by the son of Eochaidh Doimhlen, Colla, surnamed Uais or the Noble. [16.] The latter was proclaimed king, A.D. 328, but only reigned four years, when he was driven as a refugee to Scotland by Muireadhach Tireach. [17.] Two brothers and three hundred followers accompanied the exiled king. Aileach, daughter to the king of Scotland, was the mother of the three Collas: the eldest receiving his surname of Colla Uais or the Noble, because he had worn the crown; the second was known as Colla da Crioich; and the third as Colla Meann. The proper names of these brothers were Cairrell, Muredhach and Aedh: after their expulsion from Ireland, being renowned warriors, they entered into military service under the Scottish king.

\* By some of our annalists, these brothers are not enumerated amongst the monarchs of Ireland. The two Fothadhs, as they are usually called, not being of royal descent, were probably regarded as usurpers.

[18.] Muireadhach Tireach ascended the throne, A.D. 827. [19.] After an exile of three years in Scotland, the three Collas returned to Ireland, and were received into favour by the reigning monarch, who gave them separate commands in his army. He also allowed them to make war against the Ulstermen. About the year 831, they destroyed Eamhain-Macha or Emania, and by right of conquest secured vast territories for themselves in the northern province. Colla Meann, the youngest, fell in one of those engagements. [20.] Colla Uais, the eldest of these brothers, is reputed ancestor of the Mac Donnells, Mac Alisters and Mac Dugalds of Scotland: Colla da Crioch, the second eldest, was progenitor of the O'Hanlons and Mac Canns of the county of Armagh, of the MacMahons of Monaghan, of the Maguires of Fermanagh, and of other noble families: whilst Colla Meann, the youngest, was the ancestor of the rulers of an ancient district in the county of Monaghan. Henceforward, the name of Uladh is found applicable to the circumscribed territory, possessed by the Ulstermen, including the present counties of Down, Antrim and part of Tyrone. [21.] Caelbhadh, king of Uladh, in a battle fought at Portrigh, on the banks of the Blackwater in Ulster, defeated and slew Muireadhach, A.D. 857. [22.] The victor reigned only one year, when he was cut off by Eochaidh Muighmheadhoin. [23.] After a reign of eight years this latter prince died at Tara. [24.] He had four sons by his first wife Mongfinn: 1. Brian, ancestor of the O'Conors of Connaught and their kindred: 2. Fiachra, ancestor of the



O'Dowdas, O'Heynes and O'Shaughnessys: 3. Fearghus: and 4. Oilioll, whose people were formerly located in Tir-Oiliolla, now the Barony of Tirerrill, in the county of Sligo. By his second wife, Carinna, a Saxon or Pictish lady, the most illustrious of his sons, Niall of the Nine Hostages, descended. The posterity of the latter renowned warrior were known as the northern and southern Hy-Niall, or descendants of Niall. From this race, nearly all the kings of Ireland derive their origin down to the twelfth century. [25.] Crimhthann succeeded Eochaidh Muighmeadhoin, and it is recorded that he made successful predatory inroads on the shores of France, Britain and Scotland, from which countries he obtained tribute and submission, returning to Ireland with hostages and captives. [26.] After a reign of thirteen years, it is said that this warlike and accomplished prince died of poison.

[27.] Niall commenced his reign, A.D. 379, and distinguished his career by a series of brilliant and successful expeditions against the Albanians, Picts and Gauls, from whom he carried away valuable spoils and several captives. [28.] Among the latter, as generally supposed, was our illustrious national saint, at a subsequent period destined by Divine Providence to become the great apostle of Ireland. [29.] It is said that when Niall arrived in Albyn or Albania, now Scotland, to assist the Dailriads of Irish extraction against the incursions of the Picts, he changed the name of that country to Scotia at their request. Scotland was thenceforward known as Scotia minor, to distinguish it

from Ireland, which was denominated Scotia Major.\* [80.] The reason why this heroic monarch received the name of Niall of the Nine Hostages is said to have been owing to the circumstance of his having had four noble hostages, from Scotland, and five other distinguished pledges from the different provinces of Ireland, confined at Tara. Yet accounts are somewhat discordant as to the nine regions from which these hostages were taken. [81.] The people of Leinster are represented as having

\* According to traditionary and annalistic accounts, this island received various appellations, relating to its characteristic physical features, position, circumstances, or historic relations to persons or places. It is said to have been called, *Inis-na-bhfiodhbhuidhe*, or, *the Woody Isle*, on account of its having been almost entirely covered with forests at a remote period; *Crioch-na-bhfúineadhach*, or, *the Neighbouring Country*, because of its proximity to the continent of Europe; *Inis-alga*, or, *the Noble Island*; *Eire*, or *Eri*, it is supposed, from the word *Æria*, a former name of Crete or Candia, or perhaps from *Eire*, the Queen of *MacGreine*; *Fodhla*, after the name of another queen and sister, wife of *MacCeacht*; *Banba*, after the name of a third queen and sister, wife of *MacCoill*; *Inis fail*, from *Lia fail*, or *the stone of destiny*, to which certain magic virtues were attributed; *Muc-inis*, or, *the Hog's Isle*, from an old legend; *Scotia* is said to have been derived from the name of *Scota*, the mother of the sons of Milesius; *Hibernia*, or, *Ibernia*, variously accounted for; *Juernia*, *Ierne*, *Juernia*, *Iernis*, *Jerna*, *Verna*, as written by classical writers; *Ogygia*, or, *the Most Ancient Isle*; *Fonn no fearon Ir*, *Irelandia*, or, *the land of Ir*, (one of the Milesian brothers;) *Ireo*, or, *the grave of Ir*; *Erin*, or, *Erinn*. In the Irish language, various descriptive or poetic appellatives are used by the native bards; and in the English language, as in other foreign dialects, Ireland is distinguished by metaphorical names, besides those already mentioned in this note.

surrendered Eochaidh, son of Enna Ceinnseallach, king of the province, for a pledge of their allegiance. This prince, however, contrived to escape from his guards, and followed the king of Ireland on a warlike expedition. At the sea called Muir-n-Icht, between France and England, and supposed to have been situated near the site of the present Boulogne, the prince of Leinster assassinated the warlike Niall, A.D. 405, after the latter monarch had reigned gloriously, during the term of twenty-seven years. [32.] Niall had fourteen sons, eight of whom left issue : viz., 1. Laeghaire, from whom the O'Coindhealbhains or Kendellans of Ui-Laeghaire are descended : 2. Conall Crimhthainne, from whom the O'Melaghlinns are derived : 3. Fiacha, the ancestor of the MacGeoghegans and O'Molloys : 4. Maine, the progenitor of the O'Caharneys, O'Breens and MacGawleys, with their co-relatives in Teffia. All these sons settled in Meath. The other four acquired extensive possessions in Ulster, where they resided : viz., 1. Eoghan, ancestor of the O'Neills and various kindred families : 2. Conall Gulban, ancestor of the O'Donnells : 3. Cairbre, whose posterity dwelt in the barony of Carbury, in the present county of Sligo, and in the barony of Granard, in the county of Longford : 4. Enda Finn, whose descendants settled in Tir-Enda of Tyrconnell, and in Kinel-Enda, near the hill of Uisneach, county Westmeath.

[33.] Dathi, grandson of the former monarch of Ireland, Eochaidh Muighmheadhoin, succeeded.

[34.] This prince was remarkable for activity of body and a spirit of military adventure. He

pushed his conquests with great success in the territories of France, where he was at length killed by a stroke of lightning at the Alps. [35.] His body was carried home to Ireland, and interred with military honours at Rathcroghan, where his grave was marked by a red pillar-stone, according to the accounts contained in some old and trustworthy records. [36.] Dathi closed his reign of twenty-three years, A.D. 428, and was immediately succeeded by the last pagan king of Ireland, Leaghaire, son to Niall, the hero of the Nine Hostages.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. When did Cormac Ulfhada begin to reign?
2. What victories are ascribed to him?
3. What reverse afterwards took place?
4. Were his character and pursuits calculated to improve his subjects?
5. Describe the chief events of his sovereignty.
6. What infamous transaction occurred during his rule, and how was it avenged?
7. Who were expelled from Meath by Cormac?
8. How long did he reign, and when did he die?
9. Who succeeded in the Monarchy?
10. Who was Cairbre Liffeachair?
11. What took place during his reign?
12. What remarkable events occurred towards its close?
13. What is related of the two Fothadhs?
14. Who succeeded them?
15. How did his reign terminate?
16. What happened to Colla Uais?
17. What account is left us regarding the three Collas?
18. Who ascended the throne in 327?
19. Were the Collas received into the Monarch's favour?
20. What noble families are descended from them?
21. What was the end of Muireadhach?

22. What fate befel the victor?
23. How long did Eochaidh Muighmheadhoin rule?
24. Who were his sons, and what noble families descended from them?
25. Who succeeded the last-named king?
26. How did he die?
27. What expeditions distinguished the reign of Niall of the nine Hostages?
28. What illustrious personage became a captive in Ireland at this time?
29. What happened in reference to Scotland.
30. Why was this Monarch so named?
31. Relate the circumstances that led to his assassination.
32. What family did he leave behind him, and who were his descendants?
33. Who was Dathi?
34. For what was he distinguished?
35. After the accident that caused his death, where is he said to have been interred?
36. When did he die, and who succeeded him?

## LESSON VI.

Mission of Palladius—St. Patrick's missionary career in Ireland—Contemporaneous kings—Progress of our early Christianity—Muircheartach Mor Mac Earca—Succeeding events—Reign of Diarmaid—St. Columbkille—Aedh's reign and the battle of Dun-bolg—Aedh Slaine and Colman Rimhe.\*

[1.] THE great and auspicious event of king Laeghaire's reign was the successful introduction of Christianity, amongst the people of Ireland.  
 [2.] In the year 430, Pope Celestine I. sent the missionary Palladius, with some zealous labourers, to propagate the faith. Having landed on the eastern coast, these Gospel preachers baptized a few converts and erected three wooden churches. Afterwards, meeting some opposition from the chieftain and people of that district, they were obliged to abandon the field of their labours. Palladius did not long survive the failure of his

\* Within the limits of the present compendious work, it would not be possible to enumerate the many existing MSS, in Irish and Continental libraries, which further develop the history of early Christianity in our country. Lives, acts, and calendars of the saints of Ireland, with poems and tracts attributed or relating to them, are very numerous, but not usually accessible. Amongst the available published works, most interesting and valuable, as authorities for an account of the centuries embraced in our present lesson, may be mentioned, Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ* and *Trias Thaumaturga*; Ussher's *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*; Dr. Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*; Dr. Todd's *Liber Hymnorum*; Stuart's *History of Armagh*; Dr. O'Donovan's *Leabhar na g-Ceart*,

missionary enterprise, having died in Scotland, to which country he had been driven by a storm, when sailing from the coasts of Ireland.

[3.] During the following year, St. Patrick was consecrated by the sovereign Pontiff already mentioned and received a commission to preach the Gospel throughout this island. Accompanied by some disciples, he landed on the shores of Leinster, A.D. 432. [4.] Having met with some opposition in that part of the country, St. Patrick disembarked and directed his course towards the north of Ireland. Before escaping to his native country, this had been his place of residence during the period of his captivity, and here he had also acquired a knowledge of the language, character, customs and superstitions of our pagan ancestors. The first fruits of his mission were gleaned in this quarter, and in a district anciently called Dal-aradia. [5.] Thence he soon afterwards departed, and sailing southward he entered the mouth of the river Boyne, having resolved on celebrating the feast

or, the *Book of Rights*; White's *Apologia pro Hibernia*, edited by Dr. Kelly; Dr. Reeves' *Adamnan's Vita S. Columbæ*; Dr. Carew's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*; Ware's and Villanueva's *Opuscula S. Patricii*; Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum*; Lynch's *Life of St. Patrick*; *Life of St. Brigid*, by an Irish Priest; Brennan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*; Fleming's *Collectanea Sacra*; Messingham's *Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum*; Dr. Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland*; Rev. A. Cogan's *Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern*. The published materials for incidental illustration of the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland become more numerous and diffuse, in English and Continental literature, after the period of the introduction of Christianity to our country.

of Easter near Tara, where the chiefs and representatives of the whole kingdom were to be assembled about that time. [6.] His exposition of the Christian doctrine was attended with successful results, although he met with great opposition from the monarch Leaghaire and several of the druids. Some of the courtiers became converts to Christianity, and from this auspicious commencement the Faith of Christ extended itself throughout this island. [7.] From ancient Meath, St. Patrick and his companions directed their course northward, and thence proceeded towards the province of Connaught, where they laboured with great success for many years. [8.] Again the Apostle passed into Ulster, Leinster and Munster, and erected numberless churches and religious houses in various parts of the country. He consecrated many bishops, ordained several priests, and provided for the various spiritual wants of his neophytes. Having founded different sees, he selected Armagh as the seat of primatial rule, about the middle of the fifth century. Towards the close of the same age—the exact year being controverted—he departed this life, at an advanced age, and after the performance of wonderful miracles, austerities and missionary labours.

[9.] When a reign of thirty years had been completed, Leaghaire, who does not appear to have embraced the Christian religion, died, A.D. 458. He was succeeded by Oilíoll Molt, son of Dathi. After a disturbed reign of twenty years, Oilíoll was slain at the battle of Ocha, in Meath, A.D. 478, by Lughaidh, son of Leaghaire, who succeeded.



[10.] The Annals of the Four Masters tell us that St. Patrick died, A.D. 493, in the fifteenth year of Lughaidh's reign, and that he was buried at Down. Some battles are on record during the rule of this king, who was killed by a flash of lightning, A.D. 503, after holding the sovereignty of Ireland for twenty-five years. [11.] During the latter and far greater portion of the fifth century, the light of Christianity shone with a bright and steady effulgence, and the names of holy men and women are mentioned in our history, as aggregated to the companionship of the saints of God.— Amongst these, the glorious virgin and abbess, St. Brigid, is particularly distinguished for her miraculous exertions, in conjunction with those of the illustrious Apostle of Ireland, towards the extension of religious and conventual discipline throughout the land. It would prove a matter of utter impossibility, and altogether unsuitable for the pages of a general and compendious national history, to enumerate, with any degree of accuracy and completeness, the various names, merits and labours of the early saints belonging to our infant Church, as recorded in our calendars, hagiographical lives, martyrologies and annals.

[12.] Muirheartach Mor Mac Earca, descended from Niall of the Nine Hostages, succeeded the last-named king. His surname was received from his mother, Earca, daughter of Loarn, a renowned warrior, who contributed to establish the Scottish monarchy, after subjugating the Picts. [13.] Muirheartach was successful at the battle of Dedna, in the northern part of the county Meath,

adjoining the county of Cavan, and again, at the battle of Ath-Sighe, now Assey, also in the county of Meath. The latter victory was obtained over the people of Leinster, A.D. 524. [14.] The following year, St. Brigid departed this life at Kildare, where her relics were afterwards preserved, with those of St. Conlaeth, in magnificent shrines. Some battles and predatory inroads are on record, in the year 526. [15.] After a reign of twenty-four years, we are told that Muircheartach was burned to death, in the house of Cleiteach, near the Boyne, on the 1st of November, A.D. 527.\*

[16.] Tuathal Maelgarbh succeeded in 528. Some battles were fought during his reign, which lasted eleven years, when he was killed at Greal-lach-eillte, at the foot of Sliabh Gamh. According to another account, he fell at Greallach-Daphill, near the river Liffey, in the present county of Kildare. Various dates have been assigned for his death. [17.] Diarmaid was the succeeding monarch. [18.] During his term of rule two extraordinary plagues prevailed. One of them was called *Blefed* by the Irish, and is variously dated at A.D. 543, 544, 546: the other is known as the *Cron-Chonail* or *Buidhe-Chonail*, A.D. 548. Numbers of people perished about this period, and amongst the rest, many of our most distinguished saints are enumerated. St. Ailbhe, Bishop of Emly, who was called the "Patrick of Munster," St. Mobhi, Claraineach, St. Berchan of Glasnevin, St. Ailbhe of Shancee, in the county of

\* The Annals of Tighernach and Clonmacnoise place his death at A.D. 533; the Annals of Ulster at 533 or 535.

Sligo, St. Dubhthach, Abbot of Armagh, St. Kieran, Abbot of Clonmacnoise, St. Tighearnach, Bishop of Clones, St. MacTail of Kilcullen, St. Colum Ua-Crimhthann, Abbot of Terryglass, St. Sincheall the Elder, Abbot of Killeigh, St. Odhran of Latteragh, St. Colum of Inis-Cealtra, and St. Finnen, Abbot of Clonard, were amongst the holy men, called to the bliss of a happy immortality, at this epoch. [19.] Soon afterwards, A.D. 554, the last feast was held at Tara by Diarmaid. This renowned seat of empire was thenceforward deserted by the kings of Ireland, each one of whom selected for himself the residence considered most appropriate or agreeable, and which usually lay within the bounds of his own hereditary principality. [20.] War and violence continued during the years of Diarmaid's reign. The celebrated battle of Cul-Dreimhne, north of the town of Sligo, and in the barony of Carbury, was fought, A.D. 555. The result was adverse to the king, who lost 3,000 men, and the year following he was again defeated in another battle, fought at Cuil-Uinnseann, in the ancient territory of Teffia. [21.] The renowned St. Columkille was a contemporary of this king, and that holy, energetic apostle succeeded in establishing the Christian religion amongst the Picts and Scots. That great missionary's principal establishment was located in Iona, on the western shore of Scotland, and the favourite island of his residence was visible from the Irish coast in clear weather. [22.] According to the Annals of the Four Masters, Diarmaid, after a

reign of twenty years, was slain, in the year 558,\* by Aedh Dubh, at Rathbeg, in the parish of Donegore, and in the county of Antrim. His head is said to have been brought to Clonmacnoise and there interred, whilst his body was buried at Connor.

[23.] Domhnall and Fearghus succeeded to the supreme power, and obtained a victory over the Leinstermen, near the river Liffey, in 559. These princes only survived for three years after this event. In 562, Eochaidh, son of Domhnall, and Baedan, a brother to the same Domhnall, were elevated to the throne ; but they were both killed by Cronan, a northern chieftain, a short time after their accession. Ainmire was their successor, and this prince began his reign, A.D. 564. After three years he was slain, and Baedan, the next king, fell in battle, having ruled only one year. [24.] Aedh, son of Ainmire, ascended the throne, A.D. 568. He was a warlike prince, and gained several battles during his lifetime. [25.] Comuscach, his son, having been killed at Dunboyke, a townland in the parish of Holywood and county of Wicklow, by Bran Dubh, a renowned king of Leinster, in 593, the monarch Aedh set out the following year on a military expedition, which had for its object revenge for the death of his son, and an exaction of the Borumha-Laighean. However, in the battle of Dun-bolg, Aedh was signally defeated by Bran

\* In the Annals of Ulster his death is recorded at A.D. 564, and in those of Tighernach at A.D. 565. According to Dr. O'Donovan, the latter year is the more correct date for this occurrence.

Dubh, and owing to a singular stratagem, if we are to credit the romantic account left us in an old historic tract. Singular to relate, I have ascertained on the spot, that local traditions and nomenclature corroborate the chief particulars of this statement, in connection with the wild and beautiful glen of Holywood, in the county of Wicklow, where this remarkable victory was obtained. [26.] Aedh, with many of his chiefs and followers, fell in this engagement.

[27.] Aedh Slaine and Colman Rimhe divided the sovereignty between them, and began to reign, A.D. 595. After a short term of six years, they were both put to death at Lough Sewdy, between Athlone and Mullingar, in the county of Westmeath. [28.] During this and the preceding century, we have frequent mention of many celebrated saints, whose lives and actions shed a lustre on the Irish Church, and whose deaths are found carefully recorded in our annals. Numberless evidences are also afforded of a comparatively high degree of learning, civilization and morality, superseding the pagan darkness and superstitions of a more remote period.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What was the distinguishing characteristic of Leagh-  
aire's reign?
2. Narrate the progress and result of the mission of  
Palladius in Ireland.
3. When was St. Patrick sent as a missionary to Ireland?
4. Whither did he go after having departed from Leins-  
ter?

5. On leaving the north, whither was his course directed?
6. What occurred at Tara?
7. Where did the Saint afterwards go?
8. Did any remarkable results crown his preaching and ministry?
9. When did King Leaghaire die, and who succeeded him?
10. When did St. Patrick's death occur, and where was he interred?
11. Describe the progress of Christianity in Ireland during the infancy of our national Church.
12. Who was Muircheartach Mor Mac Earca?
13. What battles took place during his government of Ireland?
14. In what year is St. Brigid said to have departed?
15. What was the fate of Muircheartach?
16. Who succeeded?
17. After Tuathal Maelgarbh, who came next in order of succession?
18. What remarkable plagues broke out during his reign, and who were the principal saints that died at this time?
19. What changes occurred with respect to the seat of government?
20. Was the reign of Diarmaid peaceable?
21. Relate what took place in reference to St. Columbkille.
22. How and when did the Monarch's career close?
23. Who were the kings next succeeding, and what were the events distinguishing their respective terms of rule?
24. When did Aedh commence his reign?
25. What are the chief circumstances connected with the battle of Dun-bolg?
26. What was the result?
27. Who were the successors of Aedh, and how long did they survive him?
28. Were religion and civilization much extended during the period of time embraced in the present lesson?

## LESSON VII.

Historical occurrences at the commencement of the seventh century—Domhnall's reign—The Buidhe Connail or great plague—British and Saxon invasions—Battle at the Hill of Allen—Succeeding contests under various monarchs—Niall Frosach's reign and his retirement to a monastery—Donnchadh's ravages in the various districts of Ireland—Commencement of the Danish invasions, towards the close of the eighth century—State of Religion and Civilization at home, and Irish missionary enterprise abroad, during the seventh and eighth centuries.\*

[1.] THE next sovereign of Ireland, Aedh Uairidh-nach, or, Hugh of the Shivering Disease, ascended the throne, in the year of grace, 601. It is probable, from the description given by our historians of the symptoms and effect of this disease, that the monarch must have suffered from repeated

\* The requisite books and MSS., for affording additional information on Irish History during the seventh and eighth centuries, are, O'Donovan's *Banquet of Dun na n-Gedh and the Battle of Magh Rath*; Ussher's *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*; D'Alton's *History of Ireland, and Annals of Boyle*; together with the voluminous MSS., Indexes and Compilations of the latter gentleman for illustrating Irish History, as detailed in this last named work; also, his *Essay on the Antient History, Religion, Learning, Arts and Government of Ireland*; his *History of Tithes, Church Lands, and other Ecclesiastical Revenues in Ireland*; Dr. Reeve's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*; Rev. Robert King's *Primer of the Church History of Ireland*, and his *Memoir Introductory to the early History of the Primacy of Armagh*. The three latter works are the production of very learned Protestant clergymen. Although not perfectly reliable in certain passages, their scholarship and research are however highly creditable to the talents and industry of both gentlemen.

attacks of ague; and after a reign of seven years he died at Ath-da-fearta—a place not yet identified. [2.] Maelcobha succeeded, reigned three years, and was killed in the battle of Sliabh Toadh, by Snibhne Meann. The conqueror possessed the throne during a period of thirteen years. Some battles and massacres are recorded in our annals to the date of his death, A.D. 623, when he was slain at Traigh-Brena, near Lough Swilly, in the county of Donegal. [3.] It is related, that the next successor, Domhnall, when a boy, had his future greatness predicted by St. Columbkille, in the great assembly held at Druim-Ceat, so early as the year 590. [4.] Although his term of rule was disturbed by a series of internecine and provincial raids and battles, which this pious king wanted the power or inclination of suppressing, Domhnall escaped victoriously from the attempts of his enemies. He gained a signal victory at the battle of Magh Rath, in 637, according to Tighernach's Annals. [5.] After a lingering illness, during which he received the body of Christ every Sunday, he died at an advanced age and after a reign of sixteen years, A.D. 639, according to the Four Masters. Those of Ulster assign his death to 642. It occurred in his house at Ard-Fothadh, the name of a fort on a hill near Ballymagrorty, in the present barony of Tirhugh and county of Donegal. St. Columbkille had prophesied, that this king would pass out of the world calmly, and with his friends and familiars surrounding his bed. This prophecy was fulfilled at the time of his dissolution.



[6.] Conall Cael and Ceallach, the two sons of Maelcobha, became joint rulers over Ireland, after the death of Domhnall. Various contests took place during their sovereignty. Ceallach is said to have died at the fort of Aengus Og, near the village of Slane, in the county of Meath; whilst Conall was killed by Diarmaid, son of Aedh Slaine, A.D. 656. Diarmaid then assumed the sceptre, and associated his brother Blathmac with him in the government. The celebrated and hospitable Guaire, king of Connaught, died soon after their accession to the throne. [7.] The great pestilence, known as the Buidhe Connail, broke out in Ireland and Great Britain. It carried off great numbers of the people, and even many distinguished chieftains and ecclesiastics, A.D. 664. Diarmaid and Blathmac died of the same plague, at this period. [8.] Seachnasach, son of Blathmac, next reigned and a battle was fought at Fearsat—supposed to have been identical with Belfast—between the Ulidians and Picts, causing great loss of life on both sides. After a short term of five years, the throne was again vacated, for its occupant was slain by the chieftain of Cairbre, in the present county of Sligo.

[9.] Ceannfaeladh, brother to the last king, succeeded, and after four years he was slain in battle, by Finnachta Fleadhach, who seized the reins of government. [10.] We are told, that costly and luxurious banquets were introduced amongst the Irish people about this time. The Britons and Saxons invaded Ireland during this period, committing great ravages, plundering churches and

territories, and carrying off spoils and captives. St. Adamnan afterwards induced the Northern Saxons to make restitution of their unjust gains. Unusual portents, a cattle mortality, severe frosts, and intestine strife, characterized the twenty years reign of Finnachta, who, with his son Breasel, was killed, A.D. 698, in the battle of Greallach-Dollaith—most probably the locality now known as Girley, near the town of Kells, in Meath.

[11.] Loingseach, son of Aenghus, obtained the sovereignty, and during his reign various domestic quarrels occurred, whilst the Britons devastated certain portions of the country. In addition to these misfortunes, a murrain amongst the cattle, and a famine for the space of three years, afflicted the people of Ireland. Our historians relate, that Loingseach, with his three sons, was killed in the battle of Corann, county of Sligo, by Ceallach, a Clare chieftain. Various dates, however, have been set down by our annalists for his death, which computations generally range from 699 to 704. It is said the particular day of his demise was on the 4th of the Ides of July, corresponding with the 12th of the same month, on the sixth hour of Saturday, which, according to O'Flaherty's computation, clearly indicates the latter year. [12.] Congall, a Donegal chieftain, obtained possession of the throne, and about the same time died St. Adamnan, Abbot of Iona, a holy missionary, a learned ecclesiastic, and an elegant writer in prose and verse. Congall led a hosting against the people of Leinster, from whom he exacted tribute; and he obtained another victory over the men of Cinel-

**Eoghain.** [13.] Having reigned seven years, he died suddenly, after an hour's illness, A.D. 711, according to O'Flaherty. [14.] Fearghal succeeded, and his reign was frequently disturbed by the sanguinary and unjustifiable contests, that reflected neither honor nor permanent advantage on the combatants. The O'Neills are said to have devastated Leinster no less than five times, during the same year. [15.] According to the statement of Tighernach, this king was killed in the great battle fought at the Hill of Allen, county of Kildare, on Friday, the third day of the Ides of December (11th of the same month), A.D. 722. The monarch led 21,000 men to the field of battle, whilst the king of Leinster could only muster 9,000 valiant warriors to oppose him. These latter made a desperate charge, in the commencement of this engagement, and followed up their success with such advantage, that the forces of Fearghal were totally overthrown. The monarch, with several of his most distinguished chieftains and guards, was slain. The Leinster men obtained a decisive victory; whilst the bodies of 7,000 men, in the aggregate, are said to have fallen on the field of battle.

[16.] Fogartach succeeded, but only reigned one year, when he was killed in the battle of Ceann-Delgen, by Cinaeth, who, in turn, aspired to the supreme station, and fell in the battle of Drumcullen, King's County, after sustaining its unquiet responsibilities for the short space of three years. [17.] The conqueror, Flaithbheartach, was proclaimed ruler, and he obtained a great victory

in Inishowen over the Cianachta, Cinel-Eoghain, and others of the Ulidians. He reigned seven years, resigned his kingdom for a monastic life, and died at Armagh. [18.] Aedh Allan was the next monarch. The battle of Bealach-Ele was fought, during his reign, between the people of Munster and those of Leinster, in which numbers were slain on both sides: the victory, however, was secured by the Momonians. The king himself vanquished the Ulidians and slew their dynast, at the battle of Faughard, county of Louth. [19.] He afterwards assembled the northern army for an invasion of Leinster; whilst the people of this province organized a large force to oppose his progress. Both armies engaged in a fierce struggle at Ballyshannon, four miles south-west of Kilkullen Bridge, in the county of Kildare. In this battle, Aedh Allan slew in single combat, Aedh, son of the King of Leinster. No less than 9,000 of the Leinster men are said to have fallen in this engagement, and the monarch achieved a decisive victory. It was fought, A.D. 737, according to the Ulster Annals. [20.] Aedh Allan's fortunes were reversed, however, in a battle which took place at Kells, in the county of Meath, A.D. 742, as the same Annals relate. Here did the vanquished monarch surrender his life and crown to the victorious sword of Domhnall.

[21.] The reign of this latter prince was characterized by some serious disturbances of the public peace; and during its continuance of twenty years, we find the obits of many distinguished laics and ecclesiastics set down in our annals. He was

the first king of Ireland of the Clainn-Colmain, or, O'Mealaghans, and he was buried at Durrow, with honour and veneration, A.D. 768, according to Dr. O'Donovan. [22.] Niall Frosach, or Niall of the Showers, succeeded. His surname is said to have been derived from the preternatural portent of a shower of pure silver, a shower of wheat, and a shower of honey, having fallen in Inishowen, on the year of his accession. [23.] A grievous famine also prevailed about the same time; and several battles took place, towards the close of Niall's reign, A.D. 770, when he became a monk in the monastery of Iona, in Scotland, where he died and was buried, A.D. 778, according to O'Flaherty and the Annals of Ulster. [24.] Meantime, on his abdication of the supreme power, Donnchadh, son of Domhnall, ascended the throne, and immediately led a hosting against the people of Leinster, whose province he devastated with fire and sword. A course of prayer and fasting was observed throughout Ireland to appease the Divine wrath and to avert pestilence, which were supposed to have been impending, in consequence of dreadful premonitory warnings from the elements. The monarch afterwards repeated in Munster those ravages committed in the eastern province, and followed up his successes by predatory incursions, in the midland and northern parts of Ireland. [25.] The celebrated and learned St. Maelruan, Abbot of Tallaght, died on the 7th of July, 792. During this reign, the rules and canons of various holy men were promulgated in the Irish Church. [26.] About the year 795, the Pagan Danes began their

dreadful incursions and sacrilegious plunderings on the coasts of Ireland and Scotland. - In 797, the monarch was called to his final account "after the victory of penance," a reign of twenty-seven years, and in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

(27.) The Christian and patriot student of our Island's history will revert with greater interest and satisfaction to the steady and scarcely interrupted progress of learning, civilization and religion, notwithstanding the continuance of intestine strife or sanguinary feuds, throughout the seventh and eighth centuries. Churches and monasteries, schools and colleges, pious and learned ecclesiastics, religious persons of both sexes and of all ranks and classes, are known to have existed during this period, in almost every part of Ireland. Pilgrims and strangers flocked from the neighbouring Island of Britain, and from various countries on the continent of Europe, to acquire sacred and secular knowledge, in our schools and monasteries. (28.) The Venerable Bede tells us, that many English nobles and other strangers became monks, whilst some were better pleased to apply themselves to reading and study, going about from school to school through the cells of the masters: all of these were most cordially and hospitably received by the Irish, who gratuitously supplied them with good books and instruction. (29.) The spirit of missionary enterprize urged many holy and zealous apostles to leave their native country and become the teachers and evangelists of distant nations. (30.) Amongst these may be enumerated the learned, energetic and courageous St. Columbanus, the devoted St. Gall, and their

companions, with other contemporaries, who extended the empire of faith in France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy, in the earlier part of the seventh century; Saints Fursey, Foillan, and Ultan, brothers, who lived at a more advanced period, and practised monasticism in England, France, or Belgium; the highly intellectual and accomplished martyr St. Livinus; St. Mombolus, St. Maguil, St. Fiacre, St. Florentius, St. Aidan, St. Wiro, St. Finan, St. Arbogast, St. Cuthbert, St. Maildolph, St. Cathaldus, and the holy martyr, St. Kilian, flourished during the same age. (31.) In the following century, St. Hildulph, the martyr St. Rumold, St. Albuinus, the illustrious and scientific St. Virgil, bishop of Saltsburg, with many other holy and eminent persons of Irish birth, reflected honour on the land of their nativity and of their adoption; whilst their names and memory have been preserved, in the particular chronicles of various nations and in the general history of the Church.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. Who succeeded to the throne in 601?
2. Who came next in order?
3. What is related of Domhnall's boyhood?
4. Which are the characteristic events of his reign?
5. Describe those in reference to his death?
6. Who became joint rulers afterwards?
7. What remarkable plague occurred after the middle of the seventh century?
8. Who succeeded the monarchs Diarmaid and Blathmac?
9. Who was the next ruler and how was his reign terminated?

10. What happened during Finnachta Fleadhach's rule?
11. Who succeeded and what took place to the time of his death?
12. What remarkable personage departed this life, during the reign of Congall?
13. How and when did Congall die?
14. Who succeeded?
15. Relate the particulars referring to the battle at the Hill of Allen.
16. What fate befel the two successors of Fearghal?
17. What occurred during Flaithbheartach's reign?
18. Who ruled afterwards, and what remarkable battles took place?
19. What resulted from the Leinster invasion?
20. Was Aedh Allan successful at the battle of Kells?
21. What happened during the term of Domhnall?
22. Who was his successor?
23. How did his reign terminate?
24. What were the expeditions undertaken by Donnchadh and with what result?
25. Which are the chief matters of ecclesiastical interest at this time?
26. What happened towards the close of Donnchadh's sovereignty?
27. Detail the redeeming features of Irish history during the seventh and eighth centuries.
28. What testimony is afforded by the Venerable Bede?
29. What were the religious and civilizing influences effected by Irish missionaries in reference to distant countries?
30. Name some of the most distinguished Irish Apostles of the seventh century.
31. Who were the chief lights of the century succeeding?



## LESSON VIII.

Aedh Oirdnidhe's reign—Danish invasions and devastations—The reign of Connor—Niall Caille—Ravages of the Northmen under Turgesius, and his capture by Malachy—Reign of the latter over Ireland and his victories—Aedh Finnliath—Flann Sinna's sovereignty—Cormac MacCuileannan's military enterprises and untimely death.\*

[1.] TOWARDS the close of the eighth century, Aedh Oirdnidhe, son of Niall Frosach, was promoted to the sovereignty, and signalized the first year of his accession by obtaining some victories

\* Amongst the books which are illustrative of the contents of this lesson may be noticed : O'Reilly's *Chronological Account of nearly Four Hundred Irish Writers* ; Wills' *Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen* ; Alemand's *Histoire Monastique d'Irlande* ; *Monasticon Hibernicum*, by an anonymous writer ; Professor Keyser's *Nordmændenes Religionsforfatning i Hedendommen*, or, the *Religion of the Northmen*, translated by Barclay Pennoek ; O'Donovan's *Three Fragments of Irish Annals* ; Johnstone's *Antiquitates Celto-Normanicæ*, and *Antiquitates Celto-Scandicæ* ; Lynch's *Cambrensis Eversus*, edited by Dr. Kelly, vol. i. and ii. ; the second book of Dr. Keating's *General History of Ireland* ; L'Abbe Ma-Geoghegan's *Histoire de l'Irlande, ancienne et moderne*, tome ii., partie ii., and the English translation of this work ; the first volume of Sir James Ware's works, edited by Harris ; Ware's work, *De Præsulibus Hiberniæ* ; Olaus Wormius' *Regum Daniæ Series*, *Danicorum Monumentorum*, and *Danica Literatura Antiqua* ; Dalton's *History of Drogheda* ; Harris' *History of Dublin* ; Smith's *Antient and Present State of the County and City of Cork* ; Rev. Samuel Hayman's *New Hand-book for Youghal: containing Notes and Records of the Antient Religious Foundations and the Historical Annals of the Town* ; Smith's *Antient and Present State of the County*

over opposing rivals. [2.] The Northmen landed on Patrick's Island, near Skerries, county of Dublin, and sacrilegiously plundered the church and shrine of St. Dochonna, besides committing various depredations along the coasts between Ireland and Scotland. [3.] We find on record, remarkable phenomena, with the deaths of many holy men and women, bishops, abbots, abbesses, doctors, scribes, chieftains, and princesses, during this reign. Most of these persons, however, obtained no marked degree of celebrity; and the same observation applies to the internal raids and expeditions, which so often disfigure the records of our national annalists. [4.] Aedh appears to have been a man of energetic and warlike character; for in the year 804, he assembled a great army, with which he invaded Leinster. This province he devastated twice within the same month. [5.] The Archbishop of Armagh and the northern clergy remonstrated on this occasion, against the established custom of requiring ecclesiastics to join in military expeditions; and, having referred this question for the decision of a wise and venerable man, named Fothadh the Canonist, the king graciously complied with his award, which was in *per-*

*and City of Waterford; Ferrar's History of Limerick, and the History, Topography and Antiquities of the County and City of Limerick, by Fitzgerald and M'Gregor; Marmion's Antient and Modern History of the Maritime Ports of Ireland. Amongst the MSS. authorities may be specially noticed the Hagiographical works, in prose and verse, of St. Ængus the Culdee, for the most part yet unpublished, (1862); Cormac's Glossary; the Wars of the Danes.*

fect accordance with the desires and arguments of the recusants. Thenceforward, ecclesiastics were exempt from military service in the war-hostings of Ireland. [6.] During the reign of this monarch, a celebrated, learned and holy man, St. Ængus the Culdee, flourished, and wrote those hagiographical works and poems, many of which have been preserved to our time. [7.] Aedh overran Meath and Ulidia, and repeated his invasion of Leinster, in the year 815. The gentiles of the north continued their desultory incursions and plunderings, at different intervals and with varying success, during the twenty-two years' reign of Aedh. Having attained the age of sixty, his earthly career was closed by a happy death, A.D. 819, according to O'Flaherty and O'Donovan, and at Ath-dafhearta,\* in Magh-Conaille, as various old annals relate.

[8.] Connor, the son of Donnchadh, who was formerly monarch of Ireland, succeeded. Soon after his accession, the Danes landed near Wexford haven, where they plundered Beg-Eire and Dairinis-Caemhain, as also at Howth, from which latter place they carried away with them a great number of female captives. In the year 824, according to Dr. O'Donovan's computation, Bangor was plundered by the foreigners; the oratory was broken, and the relics of St. Comgall were shaken from the shrine in which they had been placed;

\* This place, which may be Anglicised the *Ford of the two graves*, or, the *Ford of the two miracles*, has not been yet identified.

but they would seem to have been again collected together, and removed for greater security to Antrim. The pagans also wrecked and burned many other oratories and churches, whilst the religious possessors were inhumanly massacred, in several instances. Even Armagh was thrice sacked and plundered within the same month. [9.] Alternate advantages were gained in deadly conflict by the natives and foreigners, whilst intestine discord continued to weaken the power and resources of the Irish. [10.] Connor reigned fourteen years, and died after the victory of penance. O'Flaherty and O'Donovan place his death within the year 833.

[11.] Niall Caille, son of Aedh Oirdnidhe, was the next monarch. He gained a great victory over the Northmen at Derry, the first year after his installation. [12.] Hordes of the fierce invaders, however, landed from their vessels on our coasts, and by well organized attempts succeeded in spreading terror and destruction along their line of march. A permanent conquest of the island seems to have been their object, and in order to accomplish it, fortified places were secured in suitable positions, whence predatory bands issued forth as occasion served. Their cupidity was chiefly directed to the plunder of rich altar vessels, shrines, oratories, churches, or monasteries; and their rapine was usually accompanied by wanton cruelties and massacre. Their expeditions were commonly planned with secrecy and executed with despatch, so that the time and place of their incursions could never be calculated upon.

with any degree of certainty; whilst the disunited and dismayed Irish, in consequence, were seldom found in a position of sufficient force to arrest their progress or interrupt their return to the sheltering forts or ships. [13.] In the year 836, a fleet of sixty sail appeared at the mouth of the river Boyne, and as many more ships entered the river Liffey. These marauders on disembarking spoiled that whole district comprised within the present counties of Kildare and Dublin. [14.] A fearful slaughter of the Irish followed; yet in some instances, the natives were victorious over their merciless foes. The different places, mentioned in our annals, as having been pillaged or burned by the Danes, and other sea-rovers from the north of Europe, prove the multitude and ubiquity of their invading forces, with concert and system in the execution of their designs. [15.] However, they were not able to effect an entire conquest of the island, at any time. [16.] Amongst the most celebrated of the Northmen leaders in Ireland, a chief named Tuirgeis or Turgesius is specially mentioned. [17.] Having established himself at Lough Ree, he undertook marauding expeditions, and burned the churches of Clonmacnois, Clonfert, Terryglass, Chorra, and other places near the river Shannon. He also plundered Connaught and Meath, having reduced a great part of the country and its miserable inhabitants to the most deplorable extremities. [18.] Maelseachlainn, otherwise called Malachy, king of the last named province, with his people,

having groaned under the yoke of their tyrant despot for some time, at length succeeded in effecting his capture. Turgesius paid the forfeit of his cruel deeds, having been drowned in Lough Owel, Westmeath. [19.] These latter events are placed within the year 843, by the Four Masters; and to the year following is assigned the death of the monarch of Ireland, who was drowned in the river Callainn. He reigned for the space of thirteen years, having attained the age of fifty-five, at the time of his death.

[20.] The heroic king of Meath and the vanquisher of Turgesius ascended the throne, as Niall Caille's immediate successor. [21.] Several victories were obtained over the Danes by Malachy and by other petty potentates, in various districts of this island. The king, having secured the assistance of Tighernach, lord of Lough Gower, near Dunshaughlin, plundered Dublin, which was a stronghold of the foreigners. [22.] It would seem, however, that some of the recreant Irish chieftains occasionally availed themselves of the services of their invaders to serve ambitious purposes. [23.] Cineadh, lord of Cianachta-Breagh, aided by the Northmen, rebelled against Malachy, A.D. 848, and plundered the churches and territories of the Hy-Niall, from the Shannon to the sea. The year following, this refractory chief was drowned by the people of Malachy in the Nanny river, which flowed through the insurgent's patrimony, in the county of Meath. [24.] Discord, however, arose amongst the Northmen themselves;

for the Finnghoill or White Stangers, who are supposed to have been the natives of Norway, were oppressed by the Dubhghoill or Black Foreigners, the distinctive appellation of the natives of Denmark. In the year 850, the Norwegians received a reinforcement of 160 sail, which arrived in the bay of Carlingford; but after a fiercely contested battle with the Danes, which lasted three days and three nights, the Dubhghoill gained a victory and took possession of the ships abandoned by their opponents. [25.] Amlaff, son of the king of Lochlann or Scandinavia, came to Ireland, A.D. 851, when all the foreigners settled in that Island submitted to him, and the northern powers being thus consolidated, the Irish were obliged to pay an oppressive tax, which was exacted from them. [26.] Malachy afterwards collected his forces and made no less than three different hostile inroads upon the province of Munster, when having received their submission on each occasion, he returned with hostages. He likewise convened a meeting of the chiefs of Ireland at Rathugh, in Westmeath, A.D. 858, to promote concord amongst the people of Ireland. The Archhishop of Armagh and the Abbot of Clonard were present at this conference. [27.] The year succeeding, Aedh Finnliath, son of Niall Caille, and Flann, son of Conang, attacked by night a numerous hosting of the men of Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and of the southern Hy-Niall, encamped near Armagh, under the leadership of the Irish monarch. Many were slaughtered, before Malachy could combine his

efforts for a complete repulse of the assailing forces. [28.] He afterwards obtained a victory over the Danes of Dublin, at the battle of Druim-da-mhaighe, in the King's County. The Annals of the Four Masters state, that Malachy died in the year 860, on Tuesday the 13th day of November, after a reign of sixteen years. The Annals of Ulster date his death A.D. 861, whilst O'Flaherty assigns it to A.D. 863, an opinion which has received the concurrence of Dr. O'Donovan. The same year, his former rival, Aedh Finnliath, obtained the sovereignty.

[29.] Although the newly installed monarch availed himself of foreign aid in a successful raid against the Conacians, soon after his accession, he mustered the northern forces against the Scandinavians or Danes, in the year 865, according to the Ulster Annals. After having sacked their fortresses and taken a considerable amount of booty from the foreigners in the province of Ulster, they assembled together at Lough Foyle, near Londonderry. The vigorous monarch marshalled his forces, marched against these enemies, and gained a complete victory over them. Their slain amounted to 240, and besides these, a great number fell mortally wounded on the field. A more signal defeat awaited the Northmen in a battle subsequently fought at Cill-Ua-n Daighre—probably Kiladerry in the county of Dublin—by the Irish, under the command of Flann, son of Conang, lord of Breagh, who joined the men of his district with those of Leinster and his foreign allies



to the number of 5,000. With 1,000 of his own forces and the assistance of Connor, son of the King of Connaught, a desperate battle took place, resulting in a great slaughter of the foreigners. [30.] In the year 868, according to the Ulster Annals, the city and churches of Armagh were plundered and burned by Amlaff, the Norwegian, who destroyed 1,000 of the inhabitants with fire and sword. Destructive inroads by natives and foreigners, cold-blooded massacres and conflagrations, supply the most prominent matter for Irish history, at this calamitous period. [31.] After a reign of sixteen years in the sovereignty of Ireland, Aedh Finnliath died at Drumiskin in the county of Louth, on the 20th of November, 879.\* Flannagan, son of Ceallach, and Fothadha, who was the poet of this king, have left some elegiac verses on his death.

[32.] Flann Sinna, son of the former king Malachy, was elevated to the rank of supreme monarch of Ireland, and within the first year of his accession, he led a force against the province of Munster, which he plundered from the river Shannon to Cork harbour. Two years later, in conjunction with the foreigners, his ravages were directed against the northern province, and once more against that of Munster. He plundered both, and returned with hostages. [33.] In the eighth year of this king's reign, the accomplished poet

\* Such is the computation of O'Flaherty and Dr. O'Donovan. The Annals of the Four Masters state that he died A.D. 876, and the Annals of Ulster, A.D. 878.

and erudite historian, Maelmura, *i.e.* the Servant of St. Mura, of the district called Fahan, departed this life. Contemporaneously with him, Laitheog and her son Flann MacLonain flourished; both were distinguished for their poetic ability, and some poems attributed to them are yet extant, according to O'Reilly's account. [34.] A strange admixture of victories, defeats, prodigies, massacres, plunderings, sacrileges and conflagrations fill up the meagre but numerous details found in our annals, during this epoch. The natives and foreigners contended against each other with mutual alternations of success or disaster. The Northmen of Dublin obtained a victory over Flann, in the year 888\*; whilst we find it recorded, that they were expelled by the Irish from a stronghold at the mouth of the river Liffey, and besieged on the small island, known as Ireland's Eye, near the promontory of Howth, about the beginning of the next century. [35.] The learned, renowned and religious Cormac MacCuileannan, king and archbishop of Cashel, was contemporaneous with Flann, and in a battle fought between them at Moylena, near Tullamore, in the King's county, the forces of the monarch of Ireland were defeated. [36.] Cormac and Flaherty, abbot of Iniscathy, pushed their conquests against the Conacians and southern Hy-Niall, so far as the islands of Lough Ree,

\* The Annals of the Four Masters have A.D. 885 as the date of this event, and those of Ulster A.D. 886. Their chronology, however, is not quite exact, throughout the present century.

which were plundered, and hostages were carried away in their vessels on the Shannon. [37.] The following year, instigated by the evil counsels of Flaherty and some of the Munster chiefs, the king-archbishop was induced, despite his own better judgment, to wage war against the people of Leinster. Having had a presentiment of his approaching end, Cormac piously confessed and received, made his will, and bequeathed many valuable legacies to various churches and abbeys. [38.] With a numerically inferior and dispirited army, he found the united forces of Leinster, Meath, and Connaught opposed to him, and under command of the monarch Flann. [39.] The contending hosts joined battle at Ballaghmoon, two or three miles north of the present town of Carlow, in the year 908. After a feeble resistance the forces of Cormac were utterly routed: 6,000 of the men of Munster, with many of their princes and chiefs, were slain in this disastrous battle. [40.] Cormac fell from his horse and was killed on the spot, during the confusion which followed this engagement. His body was honourably interred at Castledermot, by order of the magnanimous monarch Flann. The celebrated philological work, known as Cormac's *Glossary*, those valuable records entitled the *Psalter of Cashel*, and various poems, are said to have been composed by this accomplished but ill-fated prince. [41.] Flaherty escaped from the field, but was afterwards taken prisoner. Again restored to liberty, this ecclesiastic succeeded to the throne of Munster,

and thenceforward obtained the reputation of being a discreet and politic prince. [42.] Niall Glandubh, son of the former monarch of Ireland, Aedh Finnliath, marched at the head of an army to Greallach-Eillte, in Meath, where he was defeated with considerable loss by Flann Sionna and his sons. A few years later, these sons, Donough and Connor, rebelled against their father, and plundered Meath as far as Lough Ree, until they were reduced to submission by the chivalrous Niall Glandubh. [43.] According to O'Flaherty and O'Donovan, the monarch Flann died on the 25th of May, A.D. 916, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, and at the advanced age of sixty-eight.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What actions distinguished the first year of Aedh Oirdnidhe's reign?
2. What ravages are attributed to the Danes?
3. Particularize the chief recurring entries in Irish annals during this epoch.
4. What expedition was undertaken in 804?
5. How did the clergy obtain exemption from warfare?
6. Who lived about this time, celebrated as a saint and an ecclesiastical writer?
7. What happened towards the close of Aedh's reign?
8. On the accession of Connor, what places were spoiled by the foreigners?
9. Describe the state of Ireland at this time.
10. How and when did Connor die?
11. Who succeeded?
12. What followed the monarch's victory at Derry?
13. How many foreign vessels arrived in 836?
14. How did the invaders act on landing?
15. Did they effect a complete subjugation of the Irish?

16. Who became most distinguished among the Northmen as a leader ?

17. How did he act towards the country and its inhabitants ?

18. What retribution afterwards took place ?

19. What date is assigned for the death of the king, and how did it happen ?

20. Who next occupied the throne ?

21. What heroic actions characterized the reign of Malachy ?

22. Were the Irish chiefs on all occasions true to their country's cause ?

23. Who rebelled against the king, and what was his subsequent fate ?

24. What divisions occurred amongst the invaders ?

25. Under whom were they united ?

26. What expedition was undertaken by the monarch ?

27. Who rebelled against the king in 859 ?

28. Narrate the closing incidents of Malachy's life.

29. How did Aedh Finnliath inaugurate his reign ?

30. What form the chief features of Irish history at this time ?

31. When and where did the monarch die ?

32. How did the reign of Flann Sinna open ?

33. What remarkable persons died and flourished during this term of sovereignty ?

34. Describe the political state of Ireland at this epoch.

35. What reverse befel the Irish monarch at Moylena ?

36. Did Cormac MacCuileannan and Flaherty improve this victory ?

37. What enterprise next occupied their attention ?

38. What was the force opposed to them ?

39. Where was the battle fought, and with what result ?

40. What fate befel Cormac ?

41. Was Flaherty more fortunate ?

42. Relate what occurred at the close of Flann's reign.

43. When did he die ?

## LESSON IX.

Niall Glundubh—Donnchadh's reign—Callaghan, king of Munster, and Muirheartach MacNeill, king of Ulster—Conghalach—Donnel O'Neill—Maelseachlainn Mor—Brian Borumha, king of Munster—Public career before his accession to the sovereignty.\*

[1.] Niall Glundubh, the immediate successor of Flann, reigned only three years. [2.] With varied fortune this king contended against the Danes; but he lost two battles, which were obstinately contested, in the neighbourhood of Dublin. He was killed near Rathfarnham, together with several distinguished chieftains and a great number of men.

[3.] Donnchadh, son of Flann Sionna, succeeded, and obtained a signal victory over the Northmen, in Bregia, on the year of his accession.† [4.] During this reign, the foreigners continued their incursions and ravages, not only on the coasts, but through the interior districts of our island. The reins of government appear to have been held by a feeble hand; for Donn-

\* The works which serve to illustrate this period of Irish history are, O'Donovan's *The Circuit of Ireland*, by Muirheartach MacNeill, prince of Aileach; O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. ii.; Gilbert's *History of Dublin*; Whitelaw and Walsh's *History of Dublin*, and Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland*, elegantly illustrated works; O'Donoghue's *Historical Memoir of the O'Briens*; Charles O'Connor's *Dissertations on the History of Ireland*; Archdeacon Cotton's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ*; M'Dermot's *New and Impartial History of Ireland*.

† A.D. 919, according to O'Flaherty's chronology.

chadh's tolerably long term passed away without any record of heroism or policy, reflecting credit on himself. Yet, two Irish princes, in subordinate positions, were greatly distinguished about this period. [5.] One of these was Callaghan of Cashel, and king of Munster, who is represented to have been a prince of great address and courage. He obtained some decisive victories over the Northmen, which, according to Keating's account, were accompanied by several romantic circumstances and heroic adventures. [6.] The other renowned warrior was a Northern chieftain, Muirheartach MacNeill, prince of Aileach. Having achieved some advantages over the invaders, he was near being involved in a contest with the monarch Donnchadh. [7.] After a short captivity by the foreigners and a subsequent release, about the year 939, Muirheartach selected one thousand heroes to accompany him on the famous circuit of Ireland. His object appears to have been a subjugation of the Northmen and their provincial allies amongst the Irish, by obtaining hostages to ensure their submission. [8.] Leinster, Munster, and Ulster were successively visited by the prince of Aileach, and from each province he obtained the most distinguished chiefs of native and foreign birth. These pledges he afterwards consigned to the custody of his liege sovereign, Donnchadh. [9.] On the 26th of March, 943, the valiant Muirheartach was killed at Ardee, by Blacaire, son of Godfrey, king of the Northmen invaders, and on the following day Armagh was plundered

by the conquerors. [10.] The ensuing year, the Irish were avenged, by sacking and burning Dublin, whence plunder and captives were taken. [11.] Donnchadh, who had treacherously slain his brother Domhnall, in the beginning of his reign, closed his career by a sudden death, according to some accounts, A.D. 944, having occupied the throne for a term of twenty-five years.

[12.] Conghalach followed in succession; and this king defeated the Danes in two different battles, fought at Dublin. His arms were also directed against his countrymen, in the south and west of Ireland. After reigning twelve years, he was killed in an ambushade by the Danes at the river Liffey, near Dublin.

[13.] Donnel O'Neill, son of Muircheartach, ascended the throne, after the preceding monarch's decease. [14.] A learned authority on genealogical matters assures us, that one of the first instances of a hereditary surname in Ireland occurs in the present case. Niall Glundubh, Donnel's grandfather, gave occasion for the use of this celebrated patronymic. [15.] Anarchy and rapine characterized the condition of affairs, during the whole of this reign. Natives and foreigners were alternately engaged in the work of devastation and massacre. [16.] After a reign of twenty-four years, Donnel disposed himself for a religious death at Armagh. He died, according to Dr. O'Donovan's calculation, A.D. 979.

[17.] Maelseachlainn Mor, great-grandson of Flann Sionna, began his reign in 980, and having



already signalized his valour by a great victory obtained over the Danes at Tara, he repeated a like achievement by besieging Dublin, which he captured, after lying three days before its walls. [18.] He released a great number of Irish hostages there confined, and obtained a quantity of valuable spoils. He also proclaimed, that all Irishmen, held in bondage by the Danes, should be restored to liberty, and that the race of Neill should be free from tribute or exaction to the foreigners.

[19.] About this period, the celebrated Brian Borumha appears prominently on the scene, in Irish history. The principality of Munster had been gradually rising to power and importance, under the energetic rule of this enterprising king. Having united north and south Munster under his sway, he was afterwards acknowledged as the ruler of all Leath Mogha. [20.] This claim of empire appears to have excited the jealousy of Maelseachlainn, who made an incursion on the Dalcassians in 981. The great oak tree, under which the kings of Thomond were inaugurated, was cut down on this occasion. [21.] In the following year, the warlike monarch of Ireland ravaged the province of Leinster, and turned his arms against the people of Connaught in 984. [22.] He laid siege to the fortress of Dublin—on the site of our present Castle—for the space of twenty nights, A.D. 989. Having exacted a tribute from the foreigners, the king appears to have been satisfied with his success. [23.] He afterwards defeated the people of Thomond, killed 600 of them, and next took

a great prey of cattle from the province of Connaught. Brian made reprisals on Meath and Breifne. Again, Maelseachlainn, otherwise called Malachy, marched southwards, burned Nenagh, ravaged Ormond, and routed Brian with the forces of Munster, in the year 994.

[24.] Partisan conflicts, usually of short duration, yet tragical in results, form the staple of frequently recurring annalistic entries. [25.] In the year 997, however, we are presented with the unaccountable alliance of Maelseachlainn and Brian in a united assault on the Danes of Dublin, whom they defeated and plundered. [26.] The year following they vanquished, with decisive effect, the foreigners of Dublin, at Glen Mama, a valley near Dunlavin, in the county of Wicklow. With united forces, the Irish princes marched to Dublin, where they remained for a week, and then carried off gold, silver and prisoners. They also burned the fortress, and expelled Sitric, chief of the foreigners.

[27.] An union, between the confederate Irish kings, was of no long continuance; for it would seem, that Brian's ambitious spirit prompted him in an effort to attempt usurping the supreme authority. [28.] Having induced the chiefs and forces of southern Connaught, Ossory and Leinster to combine with the foreigners of Dublin, it was determined to march against the monarch, who resided at Tara. A plundering party of Danish cavalry, however, was utterly defeated by Maelseachlainn, in the territory of Magh Breagh, be-

fore their Irish allies were able to join them. [29.] Brian, finding it useless to prosecute his projected enterprise after this reverse, led his forces homewards. Several of our native annalists characterize these ambitious designs of the Munster king, as treacherous and unwarrantable attempts against the chief monarch of Ireland.

[30.] Notwithstanding the constantly prevailing disturbances during his reign, Maelseachlainn found means to effect some improvements of an useful character, in the erection of two causeways—probably embankments—near the river Shannon.

[31.] Brian collected an army of Leinstermen, Munstermen, and foreigners, which he led to Athlone in the year 1001, when he appears to have succeeded in his ambitious designs, by deposing Maelseachlainn and obtaining hostages to ensure submission. [32.] With the forces of Meath, Munster, Leinster, Connaught and of the foreigners, Brian marched northwards for the purpose of compelling Aedh O'Neill, heir apparent to the throne of Ireland, and the people of Ulster, to acknowledge his usurped sway. [33.] In this object the politic and ambitious Brian was not at first successful: at a later period of his rule, however, his claims to pre-eminence were established and generally vindicated throughout the whole Island. Maelseachlainn had already ruled three-and-twenty years, at the time of his forced abdication.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. Who succeeded the last king?
2. What events distinguish his reign?

3. Who next ascended the throne?
4. Were the Northmen restrained by his influence?
5. What southern prince now distinguished himself?
6. Did the northern province produce any distinguished man, and how was he called?
7. What remarkable course did he adopt?
8. How did he succeed?
9. Did he die a natural death?
10. Were any reprisals made by the Irish after the sacking of Armagh?
11. How and when did Donnchadh's reign end?
12. What actions took place during Conghalach's rule?
13. Who succeeded?
14. Does any note-worthy circumstance attach importance to Donnel O'Neill?
15. How fared the country during his term of sway?
16. How long did he reign?
17. What prestige is annexed to the opening career of Maelseachlainn Mor?
18. What was the result of his Dublin expedition?
19. What remarkable character obtained prominence during this reign?
20. How did Maelseachlainn act?
21. In 982 and 984 what took place?
22. On what expedition did he afterwards engage?
23. Was he successful against the people of Munster?
24. What was the state of Ireland about this time?
25. What expedition was planned by Maelseachlainn Mor and Brian Borumha?
26. Did they gain any decisive advantages?
27. Was the alliance of the Irish kings permanent?
28. How did Brian act?
29. Was he disappointed in his ambitious design?
30. Were any works of public utility constructed by the supreme monarch?
31. How was Maelseachlainn deposed?
32. What course did Brian next adopt?
33. Did he succeed in asserting his claim to rule?

## LESSON X.

State of the Danish power in Ireland at the time of Brian Borumha's accession—Proceedings of that monarch—Confederation of the Danes and Leinstermen against him—The battle of Clontarf and death of Brian—Subsequent condition of the Norsemen and Irish.\*

[1.] When the renowned monarch Brian Borumha ascended the throne of Ireland, invading hordes of Northern Europe had succeeded in planting colonies, at various places, on the sea-board of our island. Their stations appear to have been admirably chosen, in most instances, for the successful pursuits of commerce, military adventure and naval warfare. Although many of these foreigners had embraced Christianity and had formed occasional alliances with the native princes and people; yet, their occupation of important positions, ambitious projects and traditional cruelties must have caused them to be regarded with distrust and aversion, by the great majority of aboriginal inhabitants.

[2.] In the seventy-sixth year of his age,† A.D.

\* Amongst the MSS. extant are some annals and poems, chiefly referring to Brian Borumha, and attributed to MacLiag, his secretary. The printed books worth consulting are, Moore's *History of Ireland*, vol. ii.; D'Alton's *History of the County of Dublin*; Ryland's *History, Topography and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford*; Warner's *History of Ireland*.

† According to the Annals of the Four Masters and most of our authorities; the Annals of Ulster, however, say that he was born A.D. 941, and this latter date of birth Dr. O'Donovan inclines to accept, which would leave Brian sixty-one years old, at the date assigned for the commencement of his reign.

1002, Brian was acknowledged sovereign of Ireland. [3.] From his accession to the throne, he was eminent for many victories gained over his enemies, for his encouragement of learning and learned men, for his munificent patronage of religious institutions, and for his wise decrees, which gave comparative peace and security to all classes of his subjects. [4.] Soon after taking the accredited position of chief monarch, he led an army against the northern Hy-Nialls, but was not successful in accomplishing the object of his enterprise, which appears to have been a subjugation of the races of Kinel-Conall and Kinel-Eoghan. [5.] At a later period of his reign, the people of these districts paid him tribute. Most of the petty dynasts and princes of our island were reduced by him to complete subordination. Amongst the many politic regulations of Brian is especially mentioned his fixing of surnames, whereby each family selected the name of some distinguished ancestor, with the prefix O', "grandson," "descendant," or, Mac, "son." Those ancestors, thus selected, with few exceptions, were men who lived in the tenth or eleventh centuries. [6.] The monarch dwelt for the most part in his palace of Kincora, at Killaloe, where he kept a magnificent retinue and dispensed hospitality in sumptuous entertainments. Liberal presents were made to subordinate chieftains, in return for tributes exacted, which were necessary towards the support of this monarch's regal grandeur and exalted station.

[7.] About the twelfth year of Brian's reign, the

Danes and Leinstermen, near Kinsaly, defeated the foraging party of an army, led by Maelseachlainn, king of Meath, as far as the hill of Howth. [8.] Most probably to avenge this defeat of his ally, Brian sent his warlike son Murchadh with an army into Leinster. He devastated that country, from Glendalough to Kilmainham. This expedition appears to have been supported by the monarch, in person, who led his forces to a place called Ath-na-chair-thinn,\* where he encamped. Brian held a defensive position, in the territory of Slieve-marigue, the south-eastern cantred of the Queen's county. He ravaged the province of Leinster to the very walls of Dublin, during this successful foray.

[9.] Meantime, a powerful combination had been arranged by the Danes and men of Leinster, and envoys had been sent to summon auxiliaries from the north and west of Europe. An immense fleet conveyed the foreigners, with their wives and children, to Ireland, which country they intended to subjugate and colonize. The king of Leinster, whose sister had been married to Brian Borumha, mustered 9,000 fighting men, and the Danes of all Ireland united their forces with those of the Norsemen already disembarked. [10.] Those Danish and Leinster forces began their hostilities by an irruption into Meath and Bregia, A.D. 1014. A challenge was also sent by the king of Leinster to Brian, offering to meet the monarch on the

\* Anglicised, *Ford of the Rock*. Its situation has not been identified.

plain of Clontarf, near Dublin. [11.] Brian summoned the princes and chiefs of Munster, Connaught and Meath to assemble their warriors, under his command. [12.] With a considerable army, yet numerically inferior to that of the enemy, the aged and heroic king marched towards Dublin, where, on arriving about the middle of April, he encamped at Kilmainham. Thence, he dispatched a chosen body of Dalcassians, led by his son Donough, to ravage the Leinster province, left undefended at this time by the absence of its king and his army.

[13.] On Palm Sunday, the 18th of April, A.D. 1014, Brodar, the Danish admiral, with his auxiliaries, entered the bay of Dublin. [14.] It is said, Maelmordha Mac Murrough, king of Leinster, having received information about the absent Dalcassians, had resolved that Brian should be forced to an immediate engagement. Yet, the circumstances related, regarding the relative position occupied by the opposing forces, before and after the battle of Clontarf, would hardly countenance such a supposition, without additional particulars, corroborative of this statement.

[15.] On the 23rd of April, Good Friday, the venerable Irish monarch appeared on horseback at break of day. He rode along the lines of his army, with a sword in his right hand and a crucifix in his left, whilst making an impressive appeal to his men, inspired by a religious and patriotic ardour. The aged monarch then assigned the leadership to his son Murrough, at the request of



his chieftains, and retired to the rear, when the signal was given for this fierce onset.

[16.] The Leinster forces occupied the centre, flanked by the Danes on either wing; and their line of battle appears to have extended from the mouth of the Tolka, where Ballybough bridge now stands, to the neighbourhood of Dollymount, along the strand, which was lined with vessels of the foreigners. Their united force considerably exceeded that of Brian Borumha, who had not more than 20,000 men under his command, according to the most probable accounts. [17.] These battalions were disposed in three divisions. The Irish right wing, under the immediate command of the five sons of Brian and of Malachy, king of Meath, performed prodigies of valour throughout the day. The centre comprised the forces of south Munster. The left wing, for the most part opposed to the foreign auxiliaries, was composed of Conacians, Dalaradians and Gaels of Scotland. [18.] Desperate valour characterised the chiefs and warriors on both sides, and the battle raged with doubtful issue and great carnage to the third or fourth hour of the day, when the Irish made a determined onslaught, and the Danes, almost deprived of leaders, began to waver and fall into utter disorder. [19.] A total rout ensued: some of the enemy escaped to their ships, whilst numbers were drowned in the Tolka, endeavouring to escape in the direction of Dublin, and at a time when the river was probably swollen with the tide. [20.] Conflicting accounts, regarding the loss sus-

tained by the vanquished, estimate their slain, at from 4,000 to 16,000, including many native and foreign leaders. The loss of the Irish army is not accurately known, but it must have been very considerable, when we take into account the duration and obstinacy of the battle, with the number of distinguished chiefs that fell on the field. [21.] Amongst these were Murrough, son of Brian Borumha, and heir apparent to the sovereignty of Ireland, at the ripe age of sixty-three, Terence, grandson to the monarch, at the early age of fifteen, and Cónaing, who was nephew to the venerable hero of Clontarf. [22.] Towards the close of this glorious but sanguinary conflict, some straggling Danes made way to the unguarded tent of the aged monarch, who was then engaged in prayer before a crucifix. A feeble effort to wield his sword against superior force was repelled by more vigorous arms, and the heroic monarch paid the forfeit of life in the eighty-eighth year of his age, and in the very moment of victory.

[23.] Having performed the last honours of sepulture towards Brian and his son Murrough, whose remains were probably escorted by the northern contingent, and deposited within stone coffins, on either side of the high altar, in the cathedral of Armagh, and having interred the bodies of other chieftains at Kilmainham, the Dalcassians under Donough joined the surviving chieftains and warriors of the Irish host. [24.] Whilst proceeding on their homeward march to Munster, the king of Ossory attempted to oppose their passage through

his territory, and demanded hostages, as a token of submission. But, a determined preparation for resistance, on the part of the toil-worn and wounded Munster men, obliged the king of Ossory to decline an engagement with the returning battalions.

[25.] With this victory obtained at Clontarf, the Danish power in Ireland was finally broken. Henceforth, although some few maritime settlements were allowed them around the coasts, they were no longer formidable as a distinct element of resistance, in the petty feuds of subsequent periods. The fame of this celebrated battle, proudly handed down to our times in tradition, song and story, had also impressed its vivid reminiscences on the northern rovers, even when they had overrun the neighbouring isles of Britain, and when their fleets hovered menacingly around her coasts. The Scandinavian chronicles and elegies yet preserve gloomy records of that signal defeat, which utterly destroyed all future expectations of successfully organized expeditions, against the long harassed people of this Island of the West. [26.]

And yet, we look in vain, for any great social or political results to the nation at large, in the still unvaried catalogue of recurring broils and inglorious contests of rival chiefs and princes, actuated by selfish motives, and without the semblance of an exalted ambition to shape a rational purpose or confer a single permanent benefit on the people over whom they ruled.

## QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What was the condition of the Danes in Ireland at the time of Brian Borumha's accession?

2. How old was the monarch when acknowledged sovereign?

3. In what respect was he distinguished?

4. What were his first attempts?

5. What did he accomplish?

6. Describe the regal customs of this reign.

7. What took place towards the close of his life?

8. What action did Brian take?

9. Did any remarkable confederation succeed?

10. What followed this combination?

11. How did Brian resolve on proceeding?

12. What followed?

13. When and where did Brodar and his auxiliaries land?

14. What course did the king of Leinster pursue?

15. How did the Irish monarch act before the battle of Clontarf?

16. How were his enemies disposed for the onset?

17. What disposition did the Irish army observe?

18. Relate the chief occurrences of this battle.

19. How did it result?

20. Are the relative losses on both sides accurately known?

21. Who were most distinguished amongst the Irish slain?

22. What end befel the heroic monarch?

23. What honours were paid to the deceased leaders?

24. Were the Irish forces obstructed on their homeward march?

25. What was the state of the Danes in Ireland after the great victory of Clontarf?

26. Did any considerable social or political results crown this triumph of the Irish?

## LESSON XI.

Mealseachlainn Mor's accession, victories and death—Succeeding state of affairs—Donnchadh O'Brian, king of Munster—Diarmaid MacMael-na-mbo, king of Leinster—Turlough O'Brien, king of Munster—Muircheartach O'Brian, king of Munster, and Domhnall O'Lochlainn, king of Ulster—Literature and literary men—Wars frequently waged between Muircheartach and Domhnall—Decease of both these rival princes.\*

[1.] AFTER the death of Brian Borumha, by unanimous consent, the deposed monarch, Maelseachlainn Mor, resumed the reins of government. [2.] On the first year of his accession, in conjunction with O'Neill and O'Meldoraidh, he led an army to Dublin, when the fortress and all the houses without it were burned. Afterwards, the province of Leinster was plundered, and thousands of cattle and captives were carried off, whilst some hostages were seized, to ensure submission throughout that whole district. The territory of Ossory was ravaged in like manner. During the following year, the mo-

\* The books useful for illustration of the contents of this present chapter are, O'Halloran's *General History of Ireland*; Dowling's *Annales Breves Hiberniæ*, edited by the Very Rev. Richard Butler; *Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society*, vol. i.; Lindsay's *View of the Coinage of Ireland*; Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, edited by Mervyn Archdall, A.M. The MSS. of most value are, Tighernach's *Annals*; *Chronicon Scotorum*; various MSS. of Duaid MacFirbisse, on the *Antient Laws of Ireland*, *Pedigrees of Antient Irish and Anglo-Norman Families*, &c.; various poetical historic fragments of the Irish writers, mentioned in this present Lesson, and copies of their compositions preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy.

narch made an inroad on the Ulidians, from whom he obtained hostages. Subsequently Maelseachlainn plundered Ossory and Hy-Kinnseallaigh, besides gaining a victory over the Danes at Odhbha, now Navan, where many of them were slain. [3.] In the year 1018, according to O'Donovan, the king of Ireland defeated the O'Neills, and then led a predatory excursion into the territory of Feara-Ceall, which appears to have been a failure. Several unimportant details of battles amongst the subordinate Irish chiefs are also recorded during this reign. The monarch exacted hostages from the Conacians. [4.] A great fire broke out at Armagh, A.D. 1020, when several churches, houses, manuscripts, relics, ornaments of gold and silver, with many other precious things, were entirely consumed. The great library, however, was saved from destruction. Kildare, Glendalough, Clonard, Clonmacnoise, Swords, and other places were burned and plundered. [5.] In 1021, at Delgany, county of Wicklow, Sitric and the Danes of Dublin were defeated with dreadful slaughter, by Ugaire, son of the King of Leinster. Maelseachlainn attacked the foreigners and the Cinel-Eoghain with success. A short time before his death, this valiant king defeated the Danes of Dublin, at Athboy in Meath. [6.] In the year 1022, on Sunday the 2nd day of September, this energetic and pious monarch died, having previously received the body and blood of Christ with Extreme Unction, through the ministry of the Archbishop of Armagh. The place of his death

was the island Cro-inis, in Lough Ennell, county of Westmeath. After the battle of Clontarf, he reigned eight years, and lived to the advanced age of seventy-three. He was distinguished for works of charity and pious munificence, and the bishops and clergy of Ireland celebrated his funeral obsequies, with rites of impressive solemnity.

[7.] Much doubt prevails regarding the succession of Ard-Righs, or chief kings on the throne of Ireland, after the death of Maelseachlainn Mor. It is stated by the Annals of Clonmacnoise that there was an inter-regnum for the space of twenty years, during which the land was governed like a free state, under the direction of two learned men. One of them was called Cuan O'Lochan, a laic and the chief poet of Ireland; the other was named Corcran Cleireach, a devout anchoret, who resided for the most part at Lismore. Regarding the correctness of such a statement, however, much doubt prevails. [8.] During this interval of twenty years, only unimportant transactions are on record. Obits of our most distinguished laics and ecclesiastics, and mere allusions to provincial raids and conflicts, form the usual monotonous entries in our annals.

[9.] The jurisdiction of Maelseachlainn's successors appears to have been limited, and their authority was not universally acknowledged over the whole of Ireland. Hence, we find them called, *Go-frasabhrach*, *nominal* or *resisted kings*. For over seventy years from the death of Maelseachlainn Mor, Ireland had no supreme monarch, nor

was the Feis or general assembly of the nation convoked. [10.] Mutual jealousies, personal ambition, and the various accidental complications arising from restricted and divided authority, produced sanguinary contests throughout the provinces. Occasionally the foreigners were engaged in those feuds, either as allies with some one or other of the contending chiefs, or acting independently, when favourable opportunities were presented. And this state of affairs lasted with some little variety of detail, until a period immediately preceding the Anglo-Norman invasion.

[11.] Tadhg or Teigue, son of Brian Borumha, was slain by the people of Ely O'Carrol, in 1023, at the perfidious instigation of his own brother, Donnchadh. The latter afterwards procured that questionable species of renown, which arises from the prosecution of successful rapine and selfish ambition. [12.] His rule was recognized throughout the hereditary province of Munster; and in the year 1026, he collected a large force, with which he obliged the foreigners, the people of Meath, Bregia, Ossory and Leinster, to deliver hostages in token of their submission. In the year following, however, he was defeated by the Ossoronians. We find the death of Donnchadh, son of Brian, king of Munster, recorded in the annals of the Four Masters at the year 1030. This entry must be attributed to a mistake on the part of these compilers, as we are told, that Donnchadh, son of Brian, king of Munster, plundered Ossory in 1031, although he appears to have suf-



ferred a repulse on this occasion. [18.] Donnchadh plundered the Ossoronians once more, A.D. 1034, burned Ferns, A.D. 1041, and led an army A.D. 1049, to Magh-n Airbh—a plain in the barony of Crannagh and county of Kilkenny—where he procured hostages from the people of Leinster and Ossory.

[14.] Contemporaneously with this king of Munster, Diarmaid, son of Donnchadh Mael-na-mbo, is often noticed in our annals, as an enterprising and successful leader. [15.] Having vanquished the Danes, he ruled over them as king of Dublin, A.D. 1052. This restless prince made an inroad upon the territory of the king of Munster, in 1054, and another in 1056. Two years later, after the burning of Limerick, Diarmaid gained a signal victory over Donnchadh, at the battle of Sliabh-Crot, near the glen of Aherlagh, in the county of Tipperary. [16.] This defeat appears to have broken the power of Donnchadh; for we are told that he tendered his submission to Aedh O'Connor, at the house of this latter prince, in the year 1059, and he was finally deposed in 1064. Having resigned the crown of Munster, he went on a pilgrimage to Rome, where he retired to a monastery, and ended his days in a state of religious tranquillity. He was a pious prince, a great promoter of religion and morality, towards the close of his reign, and passed many excellent enactments for the good government of his dominions.

[17.] Turlough O'Brian, son of Teigue, who

had been treacherously slain at the instigation of Donnchadh, was left in possession of the throne of Munster. [18.] This prince secured the friendship of Diarmaid MacMael-na-mbo, the powerful king of Leinster, who is enumerated amongst the chief monarchs of Ireland, by some of our annalists. Both of these kings united their forces and marched into Connaught, where the O'Conors were defeated, A.D. 1067. [19.] In the year 1072, on Tuesday the 8th of February, Diarmaid, with numbers of the Danes and Leinstermen, was killed by Conor O'Maeleachlainn and the men of Meath, at the battle of Odhbha, now Navan. The supremacy of Turlough was afterwards tacitly acknowledged, whilst his authority was respected in Ireland and in foreign countries.

[20.] In the year 1075, Turlough assembled a large force of Mononians, Meathians, Conacians, Lagenians, Ossoronians and Danes. At the head of them Muirheartach O'Brian, heir apparent to Munster, marched towards Ardee, in the county of Louth, to demand hostages from the Oirghiallans and Ulidians. But he was defeated with great slaughter, and was obliged to retreat without having accomplished the intended object of this expedition.

[21.] Turlough directed his next efforts with greater advantage against the O'Conors of Connaught and the chief of Hy-Kinnsealaigh. In the year 1080, he led an army to Dublin, where the men of Meath and the archbishop of Armagh visited his house, with the staff of Jesus. The

clergy of Munster were present at this interview. [22.] On the 14th of July, A.D. 1086, at Kinco-  
radh, Turlough died, after a wasting and painful  
illness, which he bore with pious resignation.  
Having practised the exercises of penance, and re-  
ceived the body and blood of Christ with great  
devotion, he expired at the advanced age of seventy-  
seven, in the thirty-second year of his reign.

[23.] Muircheartach or Murtoogh O'Brian, son  
of the former king, succeeded to the sovereignty  
of Munster. [24.] Soon after his accession, he  
was involved in wars with the Lagenians, Cona-  
cians and Ultonians. [25.] Domhnall, the son of  
MacLochlainn, king of Aileach, in the north of  
Ireland, was his most powerful opponent. Aided  
by Rory O'Conor, king of Connaught, he pro-  
ceeded to ravage Munster, with a large force, in  
1088. Having burned the city of Limerick, and  
devastated all the surrounding country, Kincoradh,  
the royal palace, was demolished, and a consider-  
able number of hostages was taken from the Danes  
and Munstermen. Muircheartach afterwards ran-  
somed them at a great price. [26.] In the year  
1090, the kings of Ulster, Munster, Connaught  
and Meath assembled together, when it was agreed  
that Domhnall MacLochlainn should receive hos-  
tages from the other provincial kings, and be ac-  
knowledged as supreme monarch. [27.] But these  
presumed guarantees for peace do not appear to  
have prevented internal dissensions. From the  
frequent violation of solemn pledges given and re-  
ceived, the state of demoralization and disorder,

pervading different districts and provinces, exhibits a total want of good faith and moral principle, amongst the petty rulers of those disorganized and misgoverned communities, that suffered almost equally, whether the enterprises in which their chiefs engaged proved successful or the reverse. Although the bishops and clergy frequently interposed to heal the divisions of rival chiefs, and notwithstanding the general respect manifested towards their sacred office and personal merits; yet, the evils of divided authority and conflicting personal interests or pursuits appear to have been too deeply rooted in the social system to produce any other consequences than those contests, which must have proved fatal obstacles to permanent peace or progress. Truce and pledges, often given with the solemnity of an oath and ratified with the most sacred observances, were most generally ignored and disregarded, under the slightest change of circumstances, relative to personal or political prospects.

[28.] During these civil broils, however, learning appears to have flourished in the schools and monasteries. Even scholars came from distant lands, to receive the benefits of their teaching and discipline. It is remarkable, that when Armagh, with its churches, was burned in 1092, the quarter, in which the Saxon students principally resided, suffered greatly from the fire. [29.] Amongst the most celebrated historical writers of Ireland, at this period, we may rank Marianus Scotus, who died A.D. 1086, and Tighernach,

abbot of Clonmacnoise, who departed, A.D. 1088. The latter wrote his annals in Irish and Latin, and manifests throughout his compositions the union of classical taste, solid judgment and extensive erudition. At an earlier period, we find the deaths of other eminent lecturers, historians, professors, divines, scribes and poets recorded in our annals. Amongst these may be named Erard MacCoisse, chief chronicler of the Irish, who died A.D. 1023; Cuan O'Lothchain, chief poet of Ireland and a learned historian, who died A.D. 1024; the son of Ainmhire, a learned chief judge of Armagh, who died A.D. 1041; Cennfaoladh O'Cuill, ollamh of Munster, who died A.D. 1048; Flann, lector of Monasterboice, a paragon in wisdom, literature, poetry and science, who died A.D. 1056; Giolla Caoimhghin, a celebrated poet and historian, who died A.D. 1072. The peaceful pursuits and studious habits of ecclesiastics and scholars were protected and encouraged, notwithstanding the unsettled state of society and the constant disturbances it occasioned.

[30.] In the year 1095, a great pestilence carried off some of the most distinguished chiefs and ecclesiastics of Ireland, besides numbers of the common people. Fasting and works of charity were practised during a part of the following year, to obtain exemption from this scourge, through the Divine clemency. [31.] The monarch Muir-cheartach and other subordinate princes continued in their career of strife and bloodshed. [32.] In 1097, he invaded the province of Ulster, and was

met by Domhnall O'Lochlainn, with the forces of the north, at Fidh-Conaille, a woody district in the county of Louth. The archbishop of Armagh interposed, and a peace of short duration was the consequence. The like results followed in 1099, when this invasion was repeated. In 1100, Muircheartach also collected a large force, and marched as far as Ballyshannon, in the county of Donegal, but he was obliged to retreat, without booty or hostages. [83.] The following year, he made a grant of the city of Cashel to religious men.—Instances of many such religious foundations are on record. [84.] Having assembled the forces of Munster, Leinster, Connaught, Meath and Ossory, he once more meditated conquest in the north, and set his troops in motion for its invasion. He destroyed many forts and churches in the peninsula of Inishowen, and demolished Grianan-Aileach, the chief palace of Domhnall O'Lochlainn, in revenge for the demolition of Kinco-radh, which some time before had been razed by the king of Ulster. A year's truce followed between those rival princes. [85.] Magnus, king of Norway, with a fleet of foreigners, invaded Ireland about this time; but Muircheartach gave his daughter in marriage to the son of Magnus with many jewels and gifts, when a truce for one year was proposed and accepted. However, in 1108, Magnus was slain by the Ulidians, with a great number of his forces, whilst engaged on a plundering expedition. [86.] This year, also, Domhnall O'Lochlainn obtained a crowning vic-

tory at Magh-Cobha, over Muircheartach and his forces ; numbers of the latter, with some of their most distinguished leaders, were slaughtered on the field of battle.

[37.] Successive efforts were made by Muircheartach to establish his supremacy over Domhnall, but without any decided success. The clergy often interposed to prevent bloodshed between them. [38.] A synod was convoked at Fiadhmic-Aenghusa, near the hill of Uisneach, in the county of Westmeath, A.D. 1111. No less than 50 bishops, 300 priests, and 3,000 students are said to have assembled, together with King Muircheartach O'Brian and his nobles. Statutes were passed for the advancement of religion and morality, amongst the clergy and people. By many this synod is thought to have been identical with that of Rathbreasil. A limitation of the number of Irish bishoprics to twenty-four, and an exact definition of territorial jurisdiction, appear to have been decreed. [39.] Muircheartach was reduced to a very feeble state of health in 1114, which induced him to resign the cares of government ; but his brother, Diarmaid, having aspired without permission to the throne of Munster, was taken prisoner by the veteran dynast, in 1115. [40.] The monarch's illness continued for more than five years, when on the approach of death, he made a pilgrimage to Lismore, where it is said he assumed the ecclesiastical habit, and devoted the remainder of his days to the exercises of piety. After a reign of twenty years, he died on the 18th

of March, 1119, and was buried in the church of Killaloe. [41.] His no less celebrated contemporary and powerful rival, Domhnall O'Lochlinn, survived him only two years, having died at the monastery of Derry, in the seventy-third year of his age. [42.] He is generally ranked amongst the kings of Ireland, by most of our annalists. Other writers accord him a joint sovereignty with Muircheartach—each maintaining independent rule over his own part of our island. However turbulent and ambitious these warlike competitors might have been in life, and however changing the tide of contest in their respective fortunes, it would be difficult to decide on their separate claims to military, civil or moral superiority. [43.] Our annalists record many redeeming traits in the personal character of both these monarchs. The penitence and devotion of their closing scenes afford proof sufficient of graces obtained and wisdom exercised, despite the counteracting incentive of worldly rank and the exigencies of their peculiar position. [44.] A spirit of strong faith and religious feeling must have greatly infused beneficent and civilizing influences amongst a people, whose princes often sought repose in the solitude of a cloister, when preparing for approaching dissolution and the fruition of eternal happiness. To escape from participation in the social convulsions of their age and country, many must have deemed it providentially ordained for them to pass away from life in such a state of blissful tranquillity and calm retirement.



## QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. Who succeeded Brian Borumha?
2. What acts first distinguished the reign of Maelseachlainn Mor?
3. What took place during and after A.D. 1018?
4. What occurred in 1020?
5. Did the Danes suffer any reverses at the hands of this monarch?
6. Relate the particulars referring to his death.
7. What are the generally received opinions regarding the government of Ireland for the twenty years following?
8. How is that interval noted in our annals?
9. Were Maelseachlainn's successors universally acknowledged throughout Ireland?
10. What was the general state of things then prevailing?
11. Do we find any act of unnatural treachery perpetrated in 1023?
12. Who succeeded to the crown of Munster and what were his first acts?
13. What successes afterwards attended his arms?
14. Was any remarkable prince contemporaneous with Donnchadh?
15. Describe some particulars relating to Diarmaid's victories?
16. How did Donnchadh's reign terminate?
17. Who succeeded on the throne of Munster?
18. Did he secure the alliance of Diarmaid MacMael-na-mbo?
19. What fate befel the latter?
20. Was Turlough O'Brian afterwards successful?
21. Did he retrieve these reverses?
22. When, where and how did he die?
23. Who was his successor?
24. What military adventures engaged Muircheartach O'Brian's attention?
25. Who was his most successful opponent?
26. What treaty was entered into in 1090?

27. Were these agreements of our native princes generally permanent?

28. Was literature successfully cultivated during this century?

29. Who were most distinguished amongst our native *literati*?

30. What occurred in 1095?

31. What was the internal, political and social state of this kingdom?

32. Describe the results of Muircheartach's military enterprises.

33. What grant did he make, A.D. 1101?

34. Was he successful in his northern expedition?

35. Who invaded Ireland, and what was the result?

36. What happened at the battle of Magh-Cobha?

37. What appears to have been the object of Muircheartach's ambition?

38. What remarkable synod assembled, A.D. 1111?

39. Relate the occurrences preceding the death of Muircheartach O'Brian?

40. How was his career closed?

41. Did Domhnall O'Lochlinn long survive him?

42. Had he sufficient claims to rank pre-eminently amongst the Irish princes of his time?

43. What were the characteristics of piety manifested by the rival kings of Munster and Ulster?

44. What inferences may be naturally drawn from events recorded in our annals, regarding the deaths of many Irish kings and chiefs?

## LESSON XII.

Intestine quarrels—Turlough O'Connor and his conquests—State of the Irish Church—St. Malachy O'Morgair—Close of Turlough O'Connor's reign—Roderick O'Connor, king of Connaught, and Muirheartach O'Lochlainn, monarch of Ireland.\*

[1.] Scenes of strife and disorder became general throughout the whole of Ireland, after the demise of Muirheartach O'Brian and Domhnall O'Lochlinn. By some writers, an interregnum of fifteen years is supposed to have ensued; the swords of contending dynasts—although ruthlessly employed—being unable to assert decisively their respective pretensions by claimants to the sceptre of supremacy. During this period, the deaths of many learned and holy men are recorded in our annals.

[2.] The most distinguished and enterprising warrior, amongst the provincial kings about this time, appears to have been Turlough or Toird-

\* The published works, serving for purposes of historic enquiry, in reference to the substance of matters contained in the present lesson, are, D'Alton's *Memoirs of the Archbishops of Dublin*; St. Bernard's *Vita S. Malachie*; Rev. J. O'Hanlon's *Life of St. Malachy O'Morgair*; Grace's *Annales Hiberniæ*, edited by Rev. Richard Butler; Clyn's *Annalium Hiberniæ Chronicon, ad annum MCCCXLIX*, edited by the Very Rev. Richard Butler. Amongst the MSS. may be classed some historical and poetic fragments of Giolla Modhuda O'Cassidy, Abbot of Ardraccan, and Giolla na naomh O'Dunn, chief bard to the king of Leinster; the *Annals of Innisfallen*; the *Annals of Ulster*; the *Annals of Lough Ce*.

healbhach O'Connor. [3.] This adventurous prince having already invaded Munster on three different occasions, had plundered its churches and territories, whilst he utterly razed the palace of Kinncoradh, the stone and wooden materials of which he hurled into the River Shannon. He led an army against the Danes of Dublin, the Ossorians and people of Leinster, from all of whom he took hostages, before his return to Connaught. He also made an inroad on Meath. These events took place before A.D. 1119, and it is likewise stated before he had completed the thirtieth year of his age. [4.] In the year just mentioned he swept the Shannon with a fleet as far as Killaloe, and remained in Munster for some time, consuming the provisions of that province. [5.] He led an army into Meath, A.D. 1120, and expelled its ruler Murchadh O'Maeleachlainn, into the north, where the cause of this exiled chief appears to have been warmly espoused by Domhnall O'Lochlainn. With united forces, they advanced to Athlone, where the king of Connaught made a false peace with them. In the same year, Turlough built two bridges over the river Shannon; one of these was erected at Shannon Harbour, and the other near Athlone. He also constructed a bridge at Ballinasloe, over the River Suck. This prince revived the fair of Tailltin, probably as an indication of his title to supremacy in Ireland.

[6.] Again, in 1121, Turlough invaded Munster, which he plundered throughout its whole extent, although with the loss of some of his

chieftains and many of his followers. Next year, he marched to Lough Sallagh, in the county of Meath, and here he received the submission of MacMurchadha, king of Leinster. [7.] In 1123, Turlough's army advanced to the Youghal Road, by which adventure he took the hostages of Desmond. His next enterprize was the conveyance of his Lough Derg fleet over the rapids of Dúnass, on the Shannon, when he plundered Foynes Island, below the city of Limerick, and captured the fleet of Desmond. He likewise established a camp, and erected some castles in the western province: then, having directed his efforts against the districts of Longford and Meath, he was again victorious.

[8.] Turlough O'Connor and Tighearnan O'Rourke deposed the dynast of Meath, in the year 1125. The year ensuing, Turlough led an army eastwards and established his son Conor, as king of Dublin and Leinster. Afterwards marching southwards, victory, plunder and hostages rewarded his energetic progress. [9.] Wars became so general at this time, that Ceallach or Celsus, archbishop of Armagh, was obliged to absent himself for more than a year from his metropolitan city, endeavouring to diffuse the blessings of peace amongst the people of Ireland. This pious prelate established various good customs and rules, for the government both of the clergy and laity.

[10.] With his usual success, Turlough conducted an expedition by sea and land, A.D. 1127, against Munster, which he devastated and divided

into three districts. With 190 vessels on the Shannon, he devastated several cantreds in Munster; and at sea, in a naval engagement, the men of this latter province were defeated. [11.] In 1128, Turlough invaded Leinster and proceeded around it by the sea shore, until he arrived in Dublin. That province he plundered, but lost some of his forces. The archbishop of Armagh established a truce for one year between the people of Connaught and Munster. Scarcely had this short term expired, when we find a renewal of hostilities between them. Turlough, with his fleet, sailed northward, and ravaged the coast of Donegal. The Mononians appear to have been generally victorious in their expeditions into Connaught, until a truce for one year was contracted, A.D. 1133, through an intervention of the clergy. Various minor raids are on record; but the victors hold too subordinate a position in the disturbances of this period, to merit any notice, in a compendious narrative of Irish affairs.

[12.] It may afford some variety of detail to interrupt this account, illustrating the spirit of bootless ambition and rapine amongst our kings, chieftains and people, by taking a brief retrospect of ecclesiastical concerns. Long before this period, the Danes of Ireland, who had been converted to Christianity, would seem to have acknowledged the archbishop of Canterbury's spiritual jurisdiction over them, in derogation of the natural claims and more convenient geographical position of the Irish prelates. [13.] This state of anomalous

subordination appears to have continued until the holding of a national council at Kells, in 1152, when it was decreed that Armagh, Cashel, Tuam and Dublin should be recognised as metropolitan sees, presided over by their respective archbishops. A great number of bishops, as also secular and regular clergy, attended on this occasion; and several decrees, affecting simony, usury, abuses, and the payment of tithes, were enacted. [14.] Throughout Ireland generally, the clergy and religious establishments were held in great veneration, although we read occasionally of sacrilegious robberies being perpetrated and of church immunities violated. In the schools, cells and monasteries, religion and learning sought a quiet retreat and secure asylum, from the storms and convulsions, that brought so many rude shocks on the social and political state amongst the general body of laics. [15.] Yet, it must be admitted, especially in the ecclesiastical province of Armagh, that various disturbances had occurred, and many irregularities prevailed in reference to church preferments and discipline. [16.] With incredible zeal, energy and perseverance, St. Malachy O'Morgair, the illustrious successor of St. Celsus, in the see of Armagh, applied himself to the task of reformation. At much personal risk and meeting determined opposition, the holy man effected this requisite restoration of ecclesiastical discipline and independence; for which labour he would seem to have been providentially destined by natural and acquired graces, virtues, abilities and courage.

[17.] Having visited the city of Rome, he passed through Clairvaux in France, on going and returning, and thus formed a lasting friendship with his future biographer, the great St. Bernard. St. Malachy was highly honoured by Pope Innocent II., who appointed him apostolic Legate in Ireland. The holy archbishop was indefatigable in founding churches and monasteries, in preaching and in practising works of charity. After convoking a synod in St. Patrick's island near Skerries, county of Dublin, he once more resolved on a journey to Rome, but was seized with his last malady at Clairvaux, where he happily expired on the 2nd day of November, 1148. There he was honourably interred, and his memory was afterwards held in the greatest veneration. The life and death of this illustrious prelate procured inestimable advantages and benedictions for the Irish Church.

[18.] Meantime the active and complicated enterprises of Turlough O'Connor, although not invariably successful, gave him pre-eminence amongst the petty kings of Ireland. In conjunction with Diarmaid MacMurchadha, king of Leinster, he invaded Munster, A.D. 1151, and achieved a great victory at Moin-more,\* where 7,000 Munstermen were left dead on the field of battle. Many distinguished chiefs were slain on both sides. [19.] Muirheartach O'Lochlainn, king of Ulster and grandson of Domhnall, began to assert his supre-

\* Supposed by Dr. O'Donovan to be identical with the present Moanmore, in the parish of Emly and county of Tipperary.



macy, and obtained hostages from the king of Connaught. But it does not appear that the fame and power of the latter were materially lessened in consequence, although evidently on the wane. [20.] In the year 1152, the kings of Ulster, Connaught and Leinster dismembered Meath. On this occasion, Diarmaid brought away Dervorgill,\* daughter of the king of Meath and wife of Tighearnan O'Rourke, prince of Breffny, with other spoils. But, the year following, she was rescued by Turlough O'Connor, and restored to her family. [21.] The latter prince suffered some reverses from a hosting led by Muirheartach O'Lochlainn. [22.] The king of Connaught collected a large fleet, with which he plundered the north-western coasts of Ulster, A.D. 1154; but Muirheartach hired a number of Danish and Scottish vessels to oppose him by sea. The latter fleet, commanded by MacSkelling, was dispersed and shattered, but with great loss on the side of the Conacians. [23.] Hostilities still continued between the rival kings of Ulster and Connaught until the year 1156, when the ruler of this latter province died in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and was interred at Clonmacnoise. He was a liberal benefactor to the clergy and the Church; yet, it must be ad-

\* Contrary to generally received accounts, a short time before his lamented death, the late Professor Eugene O'Curry informed me, he had good authority for stating, that this lady became the unwilling victim of a forced abduction, on the part of her unprincipled oppressor, Diarmaid Mac Murchadh.

mitted, his turbulent career is stained with various acts of cruelty and perfidy.

[24.] Roderick O'Connor, son of Turlough, succeeded his father on the throne of Connaught, whilst Muircheartach O'Lochlainn, king of Ulster, was acknowledged supreme monarch of Ireland, after some ineffectual opposition on the part of the Ulidians. Muircheartach received hostages from them and the king of Leinster, as a token of fealty. [25.] In the year 1157, a synod was held at Mellifont, in the county of Louth. Muircheartach, having marched into Leinster, proceeded to Munster, where he compelled the Desmondians, Dalcassians and the foreigners to acknowledge him as their sovereign. [26.] Meantime, the aspiring Roderick, taking advantage of the monarch's absence from the north, penetrated to its most distant districts, which he plundered, and afterwards entered Munster, where he disturbed existing arrangements. His ships and boats on the Shannon were exceedingly numerous, and were of great advantage to him, during the progress of his warlike demonstrations. He despatched some of his vessels to Tirowen, which he devastated. He also made an irruption into Leinster. [27.] But in the year 1159, having led an army of the men of Connaught, Thomond and Breffny into the county of Louth, he was signally defeated by the monarch of Ireland, in a battle, fought at Ardee. Muircheartach followed up his conquest, by leading another expedition into Connaught and Meath, where he met with

little opposition. [28.] Many petty conflicts occurred in Ireland, whilst O'Connor made strenuous efforts to establish his precedence over O'Lochlainn. [29.] In 1165, the Ulidians revolted against the latter, but were subdued and compelled to deliver hostages. [30.] The year following, however, a combination was formed against Muircheartach, and with numerically inferior forces, he was killed in a battle, fought at a place called Leiter-Luin, supposed to have been situated in the barony of Upper Fews and county of Armagh. Many others fell in this engagement, which removed every obstacle that stood between Roderick O'Connor and his ambitious design of being acknowledged supreme king in Ireland. [31.] The annalists pronounce a high eulogy on the vanquished monarch, who was distinguished for valour, chivalry, hospitality, and prowess. Ever victorious during life in battle and conflict, his final overthrow and death are attributed to an act of perfidy and perjury, deserving the reprobation of honourable men, and just retribution on the part of an offended Deity.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. Describe the general condition of Ireland after the death of the two former monarchs.
2. Who obtained the pre-eminence amongst the petty princes of Ireland?
3. What were his first efforts?
4. What occurred in 1119?
5. Narrate the events of 1120.

6. What followed ?
7. What happened in 1123 ?
8. Did Turlough succeed in his future enterprizes ?
9. Who was the Archbishop of Armagh at this time, and how was he employed ?
10. How did Turlough's land and naval expedition result ?
11. What took place in 1128 and the year succeeding ?
12. Give some idea of the state of ecclesiastical affairs, during this period.
13. When were the Danes subjected to native ecclesiastical jurisdiction ?
14. Were the clergy and religious establishments generally respected ?
15. Did any irregularities prevail ?
16. Who distinguished himself as the great reformer of these abuses ?
17. Relate some of the principal incidents of St. Malachy O'Morgair's life.
18. How did Turlough's career proceed ?
19. Who obliged him to deliver hostages ?
20. What happened in Meath ?
21. What loss was afterwards inflicted on Turlough O'Connor ?
22. Did he retrieve this defeat ?
23. How did his reign end ?
24. Who succeeded as king of Connaught, and who was acknowledged as supreme king ?
25. What took place in 1157 ?
26. What success attended the arms of Roderick O'Connor ?
27. Did he suffer any reverses ?
28. How did matters proceed ?
29. What happened A.D. 1165 ?
30. How did Muirheartach O'Lochlainn's reign terminate ?
31. What character has been bestowed on him by our chroniclers ?

## LESSON XIII.

Accession and admitted supremacy of Roderick O'Connor—Convention of Athboy—Origin of the Anglo-Norman invasion—Landing of the invaders—Arrival of Strongbow—Opposition of Roderick—Debarkation of Henry II.—Submission of Roderick—Subsequent battles between the natives and foreigners—Treaty between Roderick O'Connor and Henry II.—Death of Strongbow—William Fitz Adelm's administration—St. Laurence O'Toole—Retirement of Roderick O'Connor to the Abbey of Cong—Death of Henry II.\*

[1.] THE last independent sovereign of Ireland began his reign, under circumstances most auspicious; for his claims of absolute dominion experienced no serious opposition. Roderick's first care was to secure the allegiance of all lesser potentates

\* The printed works useful for reference to the portion of our history, included in the present lesson, are: Dr. O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. iii.; Hardman's *History of Galway*; Barlow's *History of Ireland*; *The Earls of Kildare and their Ancestors*, by the Marquis of Kildare; Smith's *Antient and Present State of the County of Kerry*; Taaffe's *Impartial History of Ireland*; Leland's *History of Ireland*; Harris' *Hibernica*; Rev. J. O'Hanlon's *Life of St. Laurence O'Toole*; Lyttleton's *Life of Henry II.*; Giraldus Cambrensis' *Hibernia Expugnata sive Historia Vaticinalis*; Dr. O'Connor's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Charles O'Connor of Ballanagare*; Owen Connellan's *Annals of Ireland, translated from the Original Irish of the Four Masters*, with annotations by Philip MacDermot, Esq., M.D.; Supple's *History of the Anglo-Norman Invasion of Ireland*; Dr. Lingard's *History of England*, and various other histories of that country, in which reference is made to the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland.

throughout the island; and to accomplish this purpose, he led an army towards Eas Ruadh, now As-saroe, in the county of Donegal, where he received hostages from the Cinel Conaill. [2.] With the Conacians, Teffians and Meathians he marched to Dublin, where he was honourably inaugurated, and as a return for this courtesy, he paid a stipend in cattle to the Dano-Irish of that city. Then accompanied by a force of foreign lieges, he directed his course towards Drogheda, where O'Carroll and the people of Oriel gave him hostages. He afterwards marched to Hy-Kinsella, where Diarmaid MacMurchadha submitted to his power, and this example was imitated by the men of Ossory, Leinster and Munster. [3.] Tighearnan O'Rourke also took advantage of the defenceless position of his enemy, Diarmaid MacMurchadha, whose castle at Ferns was demolished. The tyrant of Hy-Kinsella was then obliged to cross the Irish Channel and seek safety in exile.

[4.] Whilst MacMurchadha was engaged abroad in preparing means to regain possession of his principality, the monarch Roderick convened a great assembly of chiefs, soldiers and prelates, at Athboy, in Meath, A.D. 1167. [5.] Amongst the most influential of the laics noticed, we find Tighearnan O'Rourke, with 4,000 soldiers, O'Carroll and O'hEochadha, with 4,000 men, O'Maeleachlainn, with 2,000 troops, Donnchadh Mac Fhaelain, with 2,000 warriors, and the Danes of Dublin, with 1,000 men, besides the force of Conacians, belonging to the train of the monarch himself, and

amounting in number to 6,000 followers. The relative proportions of foot and horse are variously estimated by different writers. Amongst the prelates, we find Gelasius, the primate, Catholicus O'Duffy, archbishop of Tuam, and the illustrious St. Laurence O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin. Many useful decrees, for the regulation of church and state, emanated from this convention. The assembled chiefs and prelates afterwards separated in peace and amity.

[6.] Again Roderick marched northwards with a large army, and partitioned the territory of Tir-Eoghain between Niall O'Loughlin and Hugh O'Neill. Having demanded hostages for the fulfilment of this arrangement, he returned to Assaroe, to meet his sea-fleet; and then he escorted the lord of Desmond, with his forces, southwards through Thomond to Knockany, near Bruff, in the county of Limerick. The monarch also bestowed many jewels and other riches, on his liege.

[7.] Henry II., then monarch of England, had long before this time meditated an invasion of Ireland; but other projects and occupations interfered, to prevent the accomplishment of this design. [8.] The fugitive Diarmaid proceeded to Aquitaine, in France, where the English king was then endeavouring to repress a rebellion of some refractory barons. The monarch willingly received a proposition made by his supplicant, who offered to become a vassal to his patron, in consideration of being restored to the throne of Leinster. Henry gave him letters patent, authorizing all subjects

who felt disposed to second his own wishes and those of Diarmaid, to assist in any enterprise which might lead to the recovery of power and dominion by a prince, justly detested at home, on account of his cruelty, treachery, unbridled lusts and unprincipled ambition.

[9.] Amongst the first foreign auxiliaries procured were Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitzgerald. [10.] Diarmaid returned with a force of mercenaries, in 1167, and took possession of Hy-Kinsellagh. [11.] Roderick O'Connor and O'Rourke then marched to Kellistown, in the county of Carlow, where a skirmish took place, the result of which obliged Diarmaid to deliver hostages for ten cantreds of his native territory to O'Connor, besides giving one hundred ounces of gold to O'Rourke, as an atonement for those wrongs which the latter had sustained. Next year, the monarch Roderick celebrated a great fair at Teltown, near the river Blackwater, in Meath, and punished some of his enemies. [12.] It is said, that Diarmaid concealed himself in the castle of Ferns, until Fitz-Stephen landed with a body of 400 men, on the coast of Wexford, in the summer of 1169. Hereupon, Roderick O'Connor assembled a host, with which he proceeded to meet the men of Leinster, Munster, Ossory, and the English invaders. This campaign ended by Diarmaid MacMurchadha giving his son, as a hostage, to Roderick O'Connor.

[13.] In 1170, on the 23rd day of August,



Strongbow landed near Waterford, with 200 knights and 1,000 men-at-arms, or with a still more numerous retinue, according to other accounts. [14.] Immediately on landing, the city was stormed, with a great slaughter of its citizens, Danes and Irish, and it was afterwards garrisoned by the invaders. Diarmaid then fulfilled his former promise, by marrying his daughter Eva to Strongbow. [15.] The next enterprise of Diarmaid and his English allies was an assault on Dublin, whither O'Connor had directed his march, with a large army. Roderick encamped at Clondalkin, to intercept the invaders on their approach from Waterford. [16.] But by a flank march through the Wicklow mountains, the city was treacherously assailed at an unguarded moment, whilst St. Laurence O'Toole was endeavouring to effect a parley. Numbers of the unresisting citizens were slain, and others fled in confusion to their vessels; amongst those escaping by sea was Hasculph, chief of the Dublin Ostmen. [17.] Roderick O'Connor, to avenge the perfidy of MacMurchadha, put his son Connor and two other near relatives to death; these having been delivered as hostages to the monarch. [18.] In the year 1171, the chief cause of his country's calamities was carried off by a painful and putrid disease; he died, it is said, without making a will or receiving the last sacraments of the Church.\* [19.] This bad end was

\* The latter part of this statement is however contradicted by a paper MS. Catalogue of the Kings of Leinster, belonging to the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and classed H 1, 17.

supposed to have happened, as a retribution for his repeated acts of cruelty, treachery, sacrilege and tyranny. Without the possession of a single generous or amiable quality, he made few friends; his hand was raised against his countrymen, and their arms were in turn directed in hostility against this bold and ruthless chief. He was remarkable for his great stature, physical endurance and impetuous disposition.

[20.] Strongbow grounded his claim to succeed Diarmaid, on an engagement entered into with the latter, and on the fact of having married his daughter Eva. But the Irish law of Tanistry did not sanction this presumption, on either score. Henry II., having heard that the Earl of Pembroke had ambitiously proclaimed himself king in Ireland, began to feel some jealousy and indignation at the slight offered to his own authority, by a subject. However, Strongbow found means of satisfying the king, regarding the conduct and intentions thus impugned. [21.] This chief leader of the English in Ireland happened to absent himself from Dublin, when that city was besieged by a Scandinavian force, which arrived in sixty ships, under the conduct of Hasculph. The English, however, made a successful sally, and defeated the Norwegians with great slaughter.

[22.] Meantime, Roderick O'Connor led a large army against Dublin, now defended by Strongbow and Miles de Cogan. Some ships blockaded the harbour, whilst the monarch drew a *cordon* of besiegers around the city by land. These joint ope-

rations threatened the garrison with approaching famine. [23.] But a bold resolution was taken by Strongbow and his chiefs, who made a sortie, with a number of desperate men, taking the Irish forces completely by surprise. A sudden panic spread through their undisciplined ranks, which produced a total discomfiture, with the loss of their tents, arms, baggage and provisions.

[24.] Having assembled a considerable fleet and army, King Henry II. set sail from Milford harbour, in Wales, and landed near Waterford, on the 18th of October, 1171. According to English accounts, his army was transported in 400 ships, whilst our Annals of the Four Masters only give 240, as the number of his vessels. [25.] The English king appears to have acted with consummate judgment and good policy, in pretending he had come to Ireland, less with a design of reducing its inhabitants by aggression, than for the purpose of protecting them from the rapacity of his own vassals. No bond of union or patriotic spirit enabled the Irish to cope with his disciplined and organized forces; and most probably, the conflicting interests, jealousies and feuds of rival clans rendered the different petty dynasts apathetic or acquiescent in acknowledging the sway of a foreign and powerful monarch, who would possibly deliver them from that constant warfare to which they were exposed. Many chieftains tendered their submission to him, and were affably and courteously received by the king and his knights. [26.] Having marched to Lismore and Cashel, Henry proceeded

to Dublin, where a temporary pavilion, constructed of wickerwork in the Irish fashion, was erected without the walls, to accommodate himself and his courtiers. Here, he received the submission of many Irish chiefs, and dispensed hospitality, with an extraordinary display of regal splendour and politic urbanity.

[27.] It is said, that Roderick O'Connor collected an army for the purpose of disputing Henry's claims to the province of Connaught ; and with this force a defensive position was assumed, on the banks of the Shannon. However, when the English king sent messengers to treat with the king of Connaught and recognize his sovereignty, Roderick consented to pay homage to Henry, through his ambassadors. [28.] In the year 1172, a synod was held at Cashel, in which various important decrees were promulged. Another council assembled at Lismore, in which it was ordered, that English laws and customs should be introduced, for the observance of English subjects, residing in Ireland. These decretals were issued, to serve the politic purposes of the invaders, and not wholly to promote the interests of religion. We have the authority of Giraldus Cambrensis for stating, that the leading adventurers frequently despoiled churches and clergy of their property, whilst abrogating ecclesiastical dignities and ancient immunities. [29.] Having made a grant of the province of Leinster to Strongbow, having appointed Hugh de Lacy justiciary of Ireland, to hold by feudal tenure, and having conferred ter-

ritorial possessions on other chiefs, Henry, before completing his arrangements for the future government of Ireland, felt obliged to sail from Waterford, on Easter Monday, the 17th of April.

[30.] Soon after the king's departure, dissensions broke out amongst his adherents. Strongbow suffered a defeat in Ophaly. In the wars of this period, Raymond le Gros—founder of the Fitz-Gerald family in Ireland—was particularly distinguished; but conceiving himself unjustly treated, he retired in disgust to Wales. [31.] Strongbow led an army of Anglo-Normans and Ostmen against Donnell O'Brian, king of Thomond, who was aided by Roderick O'Connor. At Thurles, the invaders suffered a disastrous defeat, A.D. 1174. Strongbow was forced to retreat with a few men to Waterford. This reverse emboldened many of the petty chiefs to throw off the yoke of their foreign masters. Roderick O'Connor, with a numerous host, entered Meath, and obliged the Anglo-Normans to fly from their castles, erected at Duleek and Trim.

[32.] Strongbow sent pressing messages to induce the return of Raymond le Gros from Wales, with all the forces he could levy there, and promised to reward him, by bestowing the hand of his sister Basilia in marriage, with the office of constable and standard-bearer of Leinster. [33.] These offers, previously refused him when sought, were joyfully embraced by Raymond, who arrived with little delay, at Waterford, he being accompanied by a force of 30 knights and 400 soldiers.

Never did succour arrive more opportunely, for the Ostmen, having attacked the Anglo-Normans, had slain a considerable number. Yet this fresh contingent just disembarked retrieved the aspect of affairs. Soon afterwards, the nuptials of Raymond and Basilia were celebrated, with great rejoicing and splendid ceremony, at Wexford. [34.] The valiant knight, however, was called immediately to the field, with all his available troops, having heard that the monarch Roderick had already advanced to the walls of Dublin. But, satisfied with the demolition of a few fortresses, the Irish force disbanded, and thus suddenly ended this futile expedition.

[35.] In the year 1175, Raymond led an army against Limerick, which he captured, and afterwards plundered. King Henry sent a summons for Raymond to wait upon him in Normandy, in order to give an explanation regarding certain charges of misconduct and ambition, alledged against him. Whilst preparing to obey, Stongbow found it necessary once again to send this knight with a force to Limerick, where the Anglo-Norman garrison was closely besieged by the king of Thomond. This expedition also proved successful. At this time, also, Roderick O'Connor marched into Munster to avenge various outrages, and he expelled Donnell O'Brian from Thomond. [36.] A treaty was concluded in a council held at Windsor, where Roderick O'Connor agreed to acknowledge Henry II. as his sovereign, on the following conditions. [37.] The king of Connaught was to

hold his hereditary province, as it stood, before Henry came into Ireland. It was agreed, that Roderick should exercise jurisdiction over the other kings and princes of this island; that these dynasts should be obliged to pay tribute through O'Connor's hands to the English king, that they should hold their respective districts, so long as they paid such tribute and remained faithful to the king of England; that if they departed from their fealty to the latter, Roderick was to be their judge and should depose them, by native forces, or, if necessary, by Anglo-Norman auxiliaries. It was stipulated, however, that O'Connor's jurisdiction should not extend to those territories, in possession of English settlers. These districts were confined to the counties of Dublin, Meath, a portion of Leinster, with some few other maritime dependencies.

[38.] In the month of May, 1176, whilst Raymond le Gros was at Limerick, he received intelligence regarding the death of Strongbow, in Dublin. Raymond was obliged to leave for the latter city; and no sooner had he departed from Limerick, than it was burned to the ground by Donnell O'Brian.

[39.] Strongbow was buried in Christ's Church, and left an infant Isabel, as heiress of his possessions. She was daughter to Eva, and afterwards got married to William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke.

[40.] As Raymond's fidelity was still suspected by the king, on the death of Strongbow, Henry appointed William Fitz-Adelm his seneschal or justiciary; John de Courcy, Milo de Cogan, and Robert Fitz-Stephen being designated his coadjutors.

This year, the Anglo-Normans were expelled from their castles in Meath, by the northern Irish.

[41.] The new viceroy appears to have discountenanced marauding expeditions, undertaken by invaders against the natives; and in consequence, he became very unpopular, amongst the rapacious adventurers, by whom he was surrounded. [42.] John de Courcy, a man of large stature and extraordinary strength of body, set out in defiance of Fitz-Adelm's authority, with a small but resolute band, to invade Ulster. [43.] He surprised Downpatrick, after a forced march to the north. He entrenched himself in a certain part of this city, and from his stronghold made incursions on adjoining districts. [44.] Cardinal Vivian, Pope Alexander III's legate, happened to be in Down, at the time; and having vainly endeavoured to establish peace between De Courcy and MacDonlevy, king of Ulidia or Dalaradia, the latter was urged by the legate to defend his territories against the aggressors. This advice coming from the Pope's legate, enables us to estimate, in some measure, how far Henry II. had been authorized by the Sovereign Pontiff to appropriate unrestricted jurisdiction over Ireland. In the beginning of February, A.D. 1177, MacDonlevy, with a numerous but undisciplined army, attacked De Courcy and was defeated. On the 24th of June following, the Ulidians were again vanquished by the resolute and daring captain, who had boldly ventured on a seemingly desperate enterprize.

[45.] Despite the existing covenant of Windsor,



Henry II. constituted his infant son John, king of Ireland, and various grants of territory throughout the island were made to unprincipled adventurers, who were unable to advance their doubtful claims, in many instances, by force of arms. [46.] During his passage through England, on his way from Rome, Cardinal Vivian is said to have been treated with discourtesy, and to have been coerced on oath into a promise, that he should do nothing against Henry's interests in Ireland. We are told by Cambrensis, that this prelate held a synod in Dublin, in which he published the King of England's title to Ireland, and pronounced excommunication against those who should oppose it. Many other ordinances, falling into desuetude and subsequently disregarded, were enacted. This synod assembled on the first Sunday of Lent, A.D. 1177, several bishops and abbots attending. [47.] An invasion of Connaught by the Anglo-Normans was avenged by Roderick O'Connor, in a battle fought on the banks of the Shannon, where many were slain. The son of Roderick O'Connor was the principal guide to these invaders, whom he had invited to ravage his father's dominions. Being taken prisoner, this prince was condemned to suffer the loss of sight, as a punishment for his unnatural and treasonable conduct.

[48.] MacDunlevy of Ulidia and O'Carroll of Oriel, in 1178, defeated John de Courcy, at Glenree, in the vale of Newry river, with a loss to the Anglo-Normans of 450 men. De Courcy was soon afterwards routed with great slaughter, dur-

ing a plundering expedition undertaken against the people of Dalaradia and Hy-Tuirtre. He escaped severely wounded from the field of battle on foot, with a few followers. [49.] Fitz-Adelm was superseded by De Lacy, who received the title of procurator from the king. [50.] In 1179, St. Laurence O'Toole, with five other Irish bishops, attended the third general Council of Lateran, at Rome; and the year following, on the 14th of November, this holy and patriotic prelate breathed his last at Eu, in Normandy, whither he had proceeded, charged with a commission from Roderick O'Connor to the king of England. [51.] De Lacy had married a daughter of Roderick O'Connor, without his sovereign's permission; for which presumption he was abruptly removed from his office, but was soon afterwards reinstated. Many quarrels amongst the native chiefs and clans are on record, about this period.

[52.] In the year 1182, Miles de Cogan, with his retinue, was killed, whilst proceeding from Cork to Lismore. This event was the signal for a general rising, amongst the chieftains of the south, who besieged Fitz-Stephen in the city of Cork, where he was reduced to great extremities. From these he was at length extricated by Raymond le Gros. De Courcy obtained a victory over O'Donnell, O'Lochlinn and the Cinel Owen, at Dunbo. [53.] In 1183, Roderick O'Connor retired to the abbey of Cong, having resigned the kingdom of Connaught to his son, Conor Moinmoy. [54.] Nothing remarkable occurred until

A.D. 1185, when King Henry sent his son John then only nineteen years of age, to Ireland. [55.] The young prince landed at Waterford, with 400 knights and a large army of horse and foot, conveyed in sixty transports. But some insults, offered the chieftains of Leinster, by John and his attendant courtiers, urged the native lords to remove from their own districts, in order to excite their more distant countrymen to resistance. Donnell O'Brian, dynast of Limerick, was one of the most successful opponents to the English, who suffered various reverses at his hands. The king was obliged to recall his inexperienced and impolitic son, who complained that De Lacy was the chief cause of those Irish disasters. [56.] De Lacy was assassinated at Durrow, in the King's county, A.D. 1186. It is said, the king scarcely concealed his satisfaction on finding that this powerful and ambitious leader was no more. Henry did not long survive him, having departed this life, in the year 1189.

[57.] At this date, Mr. Moore, who has distinguished himself, much more honourably as the poet than as the historian or politician of Ireland, enters on a disquisition, the object of which appears to be, a denial of his country's claims to distinct nationality, by an endeavour to grapple with and refute Molyneux's constitutional arguments. Moore shows himself clearly incapable—if he studied the subject—of understanding the scope or application of Molyneux's observations, and thus pedantically exposes his own shallow

sophistries, under the false assumption, that he has advanced convincing arguments in support of a very unpatriotic and illogical dissertation. Every sound thinker or true patriot will never rest or abandon his country's assertion of right, justice and independent nationality, on mere constitutional existing precedents—so often the obstructive barriers to all enlightened progress—nor on a long established, deep-rooted and successful system of fraud, degradation and misgovernment. Social, political and religious disabilities or grievances once permanently removed, our improved condition would diffuse happiness amongst ourselves, and tend to insure stability within the limits of this empire. Religious or national prejudices and distrust on the part of our rulers seem, however, to forbid such a desirable consummation. National independence, by the restoration of her domestic parliament, legislating on a well-constituted and popular basis, would effectually remove nearly all those aggravated evils, which have so long afflicted this misgoverned island. Difficulties in the way of accomplishment should rather animate than discourage a people, earnest, intelligent, moral and patriotic, prepared to make great sacrifices in securing their best material and national interests, united in sentiment and action, whilst resolute in their adhesion to virtuous impulses, wise purposes and exalted principles.

## QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. How did Roderick O'Connor's reign commence?
2. What enterprise first engaged his attention?
3. What happened between Tighearnax O'Rourke and Diarmaid MacMurchadh?
4. Did any remarkable convention take place?
5. Relate the particulars regarding it.
6. What were Roderick's next proceedings?
7. What intention then occupied the mind of Henry II.?
8. What furnished the immediate occasion for putting it into execution?
9. Who were the first adventurers engaged by Diarmaid MacMurchadh?
10. What did he next do?
11. Was he successfully opposed?
12. What happened on the first arrival of the invaders?
13. When did Strongbow land and where?
14. How was his enterprise prosecuted?
15. Where did Strongbow and Diarmaid march?
16. How did they act?
17. How did Roderick O'Connor avenge the perfidy of Diarmaid?
18. What end befel Diarmaid?
19. What character did he bear?
20. What claims did Strongbow now advance?
21. Did the Danes succeed in their attack on Dublin?
22. What dispositions did Roderick O'Connor make for his assault on the city?
23. What was the result?
24. When and where did Henry II. land?
25. Were his political actions suited to the time and circumstances?
26. How did he proceed?
27. What did Roderick O'Connor then do?
28. Were any important synods convoked at this period?
29. What arrangements were made by Henry II. before leaving Ireland?
30. What happened after his departure?

31. Did Strongbow experience any reverses ?
32. What offers did he then make ?
33. How were they accepted and fulfilled ?
34. What new cause of alarm disconcerted the Anglo Normans ?
35. How did Raymond le Gros act in 1175 ?
36. What treaty was entered into at Windsor ?
37. What were its conditions ?
38. What happened in 1176 ?
39. Who inherited Strongbow's possessions ?
40. Who were appointed by King Henry to administer the affairs of Ireland, after Strongbow's death ?
41. Was the new viceroy popular ?
42. Who is said to have defied his authority ?
43. How did De Courcy succeed in the north of Ireland ?
44. How did Cardinal Vivian act ?
45. Were the guarantees of the Windsor treaty observed ?
46. What measures did Henry II. adopt to secure his interests in Ireland ?
47. How did the Anglo-Norman invasion of Connaught terminate ?
48. What disasters befel De Courcy in the north of Ireland ?
49. Who was next appointed to the government of Ireland by King Henry ?
50. What were the closing events of St. Laurence O'Toole's career ?
51. How did De Lacy incur the displeasure of the English monarch ?
52. What occurred in 1182 ?
53. In the year following what took place ?
54. When did King Henry II. send his son John to Ireland ?
55. What were the actions of this prince during his stay ?
56. What followed ?
57. What observations apply to the remarks of a distinguished writer in reference to this portion of our history ?

## LESSON XIV.

Affairs of Ireland during the reign of Richard I. in England—Death of Roderick O'Connor—Contests between rival families of the O'Connors—John de Courcy—Arrival of King John in Ireland—English charters extended to Anglo-Norman colonists of the pale, on Henry III's accession—Disturbances in Connaught—Felim O'Connor—King Henry requires military aid from Ireland—Rapacity of the English barons—Godfrey O'Donnell and Brian O'Neill—Victories of Irish chiefs over the English—Accession of Hugh O'Connor on the death of Felim—Defeat of Robert de Ufford, justiciary of Ireland, and Walter Burke, Earl of Ulster—State of Ireland at this period.\*

[1.] JOHN, son of Henry II., was entrusted with the administration of Irish affairs, during the short reign of Richard I. over England. But, taking very little interest in the concerns of our island himself, John appointed Hugh de Lacy, son of the

\* Amongst the published works, which will serve to illustrate the matters treated in this lesson, are, Rev. C. P. Meehan's *History of the Geraldines, Earls of Desmond*; Mason's *History and Antiquities of the Collegiate Church of St. Patrick, near Dublin*; Moore's *History of Ireland*, vol. iii.; Lynch's *View of the Legal Institutions established in Ireland*; Rymer's *Fœdera*; Cox's *Hibernia Anglicana*; *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniæ, Ab An. 1152 usque ad 1827*; or *the Establishments of Ireland, from the nineteenth of King Stephen to the seventh of George IV., during a period of 675 years. Being the Report of Rowley Lascelles, of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. Extracted from the Records and other authorities, by special command, pursuant to an address, An, 1810, of the Commons of the United Kingdom. Ordered to be printed MDCCCXXIV.*

former Meathian lord, as his vicegerent. [2.] This appointment greatly displeased John de Courcy, who, conceiving himself slighted, retired to his own possessions in Ulster. [3.] Conor Moinmoy, son of Roderick O'Connor, was killed by his own people and tribe, A.D. 1189. He had been acknowledged as heir presumptive to the throne of Ireland, by most of the minor potentates, to whom in return stipends were duly paid. Roderick was recalled from his retirement, by several influential chiefs, who invited him to assume the sovereignty. But his brother, Cathal Crovderg,\* and his grandson, Cathal Carragh, the son of Conor Moinmoy, were also rival aspirants. An unsuccessful attempt to conclude a peace between them, by the archbishop of Armagh and some western chiefs, resulted, however, in a future acknowledgment of Cathal Crovderg's supremacy.

[4.] The English were defeated in some engagements, A.D. 1192. One of these was fought near Killaloe, where the Dalcassians slew great numbers of them. Donnell O'Brian also defeated the English of Ossory, with considerable loss. The latter brave and distinguished dynast departed this life, in 1194. [5.] Dissensions prevailed amongst the native clans, nor were the affairs of the English pale placed in a more prosperous condition. Lords-justices for Ireland succeeded each other at short intervals: maladministration and rapacity characterizing their respective terms of rule. The invaders sometimes contended amongst

\* Anglicised. Charles. the red-handed.



themselves, and often fought on opposite sides, having Irish chiefs in alliance. [6.] Donnell Mac Carthy of Desmond defeated the English in various skirmishes, A.D. 1196. The Anglo-Normans were also defeated in the following year, on the strand of Lough Foyle, by Flaherty O'Muldory, lord of the Kinel-Owen and Kinel-Conall. This accomplished leader died soon afterwards, and the chieftainship of the Kinel-Conall was assumed by O'Dougherty. A fortnight after his inauguration this dynast was killed, with many other chiefs and men, by John de Courcy, in a desperate battle fought at the hill of Knock-Nascain, near Lough Swilly, in Inishowen.

[7.] Roderick O'Connor died at Cong, A.D. 1198, in the eighty-second year of his age, having retired to the beautiful abbey he had founded there, to spend the last days of his eventful life in penitential exercises. His remains were removed, however, to the great church of Clonmacnoise, where they were interred, at the north side of its altar.

[8.] When John ascended the throne of England, in 1199, he appointed Meyler Fitz-Henry as chief governor of Ireland. [9.] The O'Connors of Connaught were engaged in domestic feuds, and their rival factions sought to enlist support from other quarters. Cathal Carragh secured the assistance of William Burke, or De Burgo, and expelled Cathal Crovderg from this province. The latter dynast applied for aid to Hugh O'Neill, a valiant chieftain of Tyrone. With united forces,

these confederates entered Connaught, but were obliged to retreat. Having been pursued and overtaken at Ballysadare, in Sligo, they were defeated by Cathal Carragh and his English auxiliaries. John de Courcy and the son of Hugh de Lacy, with the English of Ulidia and Meath, joined Cathal Crovderg. But the latter chief was again overthrown, in a great battle; whilst the remnant of his defeated battalions fled to Rindown, in Lough Ree, on the Shannon. Here many were killed by the sword, and several were drowned, whilst endeavouring to escape, when crossing the lake in boats.

[10.] A.D. 1200. Meyler Fitzhenry, the lord justice, with the English of Leinster, marched to Clonmacnoise, where he remained two nights, having plundered the town and churches. This expedition was undertaken against Cathal Carragh O'Connor. The rival of this chief, Cathal Crovderg went into Munster, where he secured the assistance of MacCarthy and William Burke. The latter had changed sides in this contest. Cathal Crovderg afterwards fled to Ulster, where he induced John de Courcy to form a league of amity.

[11.] With a large force of Munster auxiliaries, English and Irish, Cathal Crovderg and William Burke marched from Limerick to Tuam, and afterwards to Boyle, where they profaned its monastery, by converting this house into military quarters. Here, after some skirmishing, they were attacked by Cathal Carragh; but the latter was killed, in a crowd of his defeated forces. It would

appear from the Four Masters, that William Burke meditated some act of treachery against Crovderg, after this victory; but the Conacians fell upon the English and slaughtered 700 of them. Such are a few of the melancholy instances, serving to illustrate our historic records, about this period.

[12.] We are told, that De Courcy had incurred the displeasure of King John, by speaking too freely and openly regarding his sovereign's act of usurpation and the murder of Prince Arthur. Wherefore, Hugh de Lacy, being appointed justiciary, was directed to apprehend the Ulster baron. By a force of English, drawn from Meath, De Courcy was defeated at Downpatrick, with the loss of many men, when he fled for protection to the Irish of Tyrone. He was ultimately apprehended at Downpatrick, and conveyed as a prisoner to the Tower of London. De Lacy inherited his possessions, with the title, Earl of Ulster, as a royal mark of approbation, for distinguished services rendered to the king.

[13.] Dissensions were rife amongst the English barons and colonists of Ireland, at this time. Various acts of rapine and sacrilege, committed by them, obliged the archbishop of Armagh to lodge a complaint in person to John, whilst requesting a restoration of church lands, revenues and immunities, from the unjust withholders. [14.] On the 20th of June, A.D. 1210, King John landed at Crook, near Waterford, with a fleet of 700 ships, and a well appointed army. Walter and Hugh

De Lacy, fearing the monarch's displeasure, fled to France. [15.] Several of the Irish chiefs submitted to John, and gave him hostages, for faithful conduct. The king next occupied himself by dividing Leinster and Munster into twelve shires, which went to no further bounds than the lands of English colonists extended. He caused money to be coined, according to the English standard, and introduced laws and customs, into Ireland, similar to those of England. These, however, had no binding force, without the limits of the pale. Disagreeable news, received from England, soon obliged John to return, after having made some provision for the government of Ireland. The English colonists appear to have principally occupied themselves by erecting castles and by strengthening their position, in this country.

[16.] When Henry III., as a minor, on the death of his father John, was appointed to succeed, (A.D. 1216,) William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke and Lord of Leinster, was appointed protector of the realm. This nobleman had been married to Isabella, daughter and heiress of Earl Strongbow, and thus both by family alliance and territorial possessions, he was led to take a personal interest in the affairs of Ireland. Geoffrey de Marisco was retained as the chief governor of this island; and one of the first measures designed for its benefit was the transmission of Magna Charta, with some alterations, considered suitable to a different state of circumstances. The privileges obtained were only conceded to the English colonists

and to their descendants; although, it is stated, in particular cases, some of the Irish, who applied for charters of English law and liberty, were not refused such protection. [17.] But the dominant classes, consisting of the English settlers, were opposed to a general admission of the natives to participate in equal rights with themselves. This system of privileged exclusiveness was permitted to prevail, and its evil effects have been continued to the present time; notwithstanding its obviously unjust and impolitic tendency, with its ruinous consequences, both to our country and its rulers.

[18.] Some depredations, committed by the English and Irish, are noticed, soon after the accession of Henry III. A dispute, between William Marshall, successor to the Irish estates, as also son of the protector, and Hugh de Lacy, joined by Hugh O'Neill, appears to have produced no decided result. Some of the Irish chieftains, having surrendered their territories to the English king, on agreeing to pay annual rents for their lands, hoped by those means to escape the rapacity of foreign lords, who became their unprincipled neighbours and spoilers. But these expectations were doomed to disappointment, in several instances. Cathal Crovderg had consented to hold his province of Connaught from the king. On the death of this celebrated and religious Irish prince at Knockmoy Abbey, in 1224, his son Hugh assumed the government of Connaught. But in June, 1225, Henry issued a mandate to Earl Marshall, which declared, that the whole of this

province, forfeited by O'Connor, should be assigned to Richard de Burgo. [19.] Meantime Turlough and Hugh, the sons of Roderick O'Connor, aided by O'Neill, opposed the claims of their cousins ; and Turlough was accordingly inaugurated king of Connaught, at Carnfree, in the county of Roscommon. [20.] The deposed prince next sought assistance from the lord justice and the English ; when, with a numerous force of Irish, he entered Connaught, and compelled his enemies to fly to its remote extremities. The sons of Roderick were now obliged to feign submission, until the English auxiliaries had left their province. [21.] Whilst these events took place, Murtough O'Brian, king of Desmond, with the English of Leinster and Munster, made an irruption on the southern borders of Connaught. The sons of Roderick and other chiefs of the west again revolted ; and once more were the English invited by Hugh, son of Cathal Croiderg, to suppress this insurrection. After meeting some opposition, the English succeeded in repelling the sons of Roderick, who fled for refuge to the territories of their friend, O'Neill.

[22.] The English invited Hugh, son of Cathal Croiderg, to a council assembled at Dublin ; where they would have acted treacherously towards him, but for his friend, William Marshall, who rescued the Irish dynast from their power, and escorted him safely to his own province. [23.] Hugh resented and retaliated this treacherous attempt soon afterwards ; for he seized William de Marisco, son

of Geoffrey, lord justice of Ireland, with other prisoners. He then burned the town of Athlone, on the Shannon, and demanded the release of his son and daughter, with all the hostages of Connaught from the English, in exchange for the aforesaid captives. [24.] But the sons of Roderick, with their English allies, once more entered Connaught, and obliged Hugh to seek refuge in the north. Returning again southwards from O'Donnell prince of Tyrconnell, his wife was captured in the Curlew mountains, by the sons of Turlough O'Connor, and she was delivered as a hostage to the English. In the year 1228, her unfortunate husband was treacherously assassinated, in the court of Geoffrey de Marisco, after having been expelled by the Conacians.

[25.] On the death of this prince, his native province was again desolated by an unnatural war, waged between Hugh and Turlough, the sons of Roderick O'Connor. By the election of Richard Burke, justiciary of Ireland, and the chiefs of Connaught, Hugh prevailed in asserting his claim to rule, in preference to his elder brother, Turlough. A miserable famine followed close on the evils of this domestic broil. Hugh O'Connor, attacked by O'Donnell and Richard Burke, was driven for protection to Hugh O'Neill of Tyrone. [26:] Felim, the son of Cathal Croiderg, was then proclaimed king of Connaught. [27.] In the year 1230,\* the valiant Hugh O'Neill, who had gained repeated victories over his English and Irish foes, and who

\* The annals of Kilronan place his death under A.D. 1229.

had never rendered hostages or tribute to his opponents, died a natural death. He is praised for goodness, hospitality, intrepidity and renown by our annalists, also for his steady assertion of personal and dynastic independence.

[28.] Hardly had Felim been installed, when he was taken prisoner by Richard Burke, at Mee-lick, in violation of a previous solemn covenant. Again the kingdom of Connaught was granted to Hugh, with whom Richard Burke made peace, A.D. 1232. [29.] However, the following year, Felim raised an army, with which he attacked and defeated Hugh, who was slain, together with one of his brothers, his son, and many other adherents. Several of the English fell in this engagement. Felim demolished many castles, which had been erected by the English or by the sons of Roderick.

[30.] About the year 1234, Richard Marshall, having rebelled against the king of England, had been induced to land in Ireland, with some of his followers. Maurice Fitzgerald, the justiciary of Ireland, with several of the Anglo-Norman barons, assembled to oppose him. Marshall captured Limerick after a siege of four days. Having been invited to a conference at the Curragh of Kildare, he was treacherously set upon by his enemies and killed after a valiant resistance. Maurice Fitzgerald was obliged to clear himself by oath in England, from any participation in a base plot, which was said to have lured the brave young nobleman to his own destruction.



[31.] In the year 1235, the English, with a large force, under the leadership of Richard Burke, entered Connaught, and scourged that province. Felim was obliged to make peace with the lord justice ; the English allowing him the king's five cantreds or baronies, free of tribute or rent. These were probably the mensal lands of the kings of Connaught held from time immemorial. In the year following, an attempt was made by the English to surprise Felim ; but having obtained an intimation of this plot, he escaped to Tyrconnell. [32.] Connaught became a prey to general depredations, on the part of natives and foreigners ; and the English committed the government of that province to Brian, son of Turlough and grandson of Roderick O'Conner. Felim, invited back by some of the Connaught chiefs, entered the lists with that usurper ; whilst Richard Burke wasted the whole province, not even sparing the churches or religious establishments. [33.] In 1237, Felim and other chieftains went northwards across the Curlew mountains, in pursuit of the descendants of Roderick. The latter faction, sent the soldiers of the lord justice to encounter him ; but in a close fight, the English were beaten and dispersed, with considerable slaughter. The descendants of Roderick retreated from their position, without the loss of a single man. Felim was thus victorious, a peace having been afterwards concluded between himself and the lord justice. Many of the Anglo-Norman barons settled in the western province and commenced erecting castles there, about this time.

[34.] In the province of Ulster, Maurice Fitzgerald, lord justice of Ireland, and Hugh de Lacy, deposed Donnell Mac Loughlin, who had succeeded Hugh O'Neill, as lord of Tyrone. Brian O'Neill was substituted for the previous ruler ; but in a battle fought at Carnteel, in the barony of Dungan-non and county of Tyrone, Donnell again assumed the chieftaincy, which he only held for a short time. The English took a prey from O'Donnell and plundered Carbury, A.D. 1239. [35.] During the ensuing year, Felim O'Connor made his appearance before Henry III. in England, and complained of the rapacity and injustice to which he had been subjected. [36.] The king received him with great honour, and directed Maurice Fitzgerald to curb the insolence of De Burgo or Burke, in the western parts of Ireland. Internal dissensions, however, continued to prevail, with their usual concomitants of treachery and bloodshed.

[37.] In a war waged by the king of England against the Welsh, Henry invited the Irish Lord Justice Fitzgerald and Felim O'Connor, with their respective forces, to assist him, in 1245. Felim O'Connor was greatly honoured by the king, for the part borne by him, during this expedition. The tardiness of Fitzgerald's response is said to have incensed Henry, who deposed his subject from office in the ensuing year, when John Fitz-Geoffrey was appointed justiciary. The provinces of Connaught and Ulster suffered from incursions of the English, after this period. [38.] In 1249, Turlough, grandson of Cathal Crovderg, was elected

king of Connaught, in place of Felim. The latter prince returned from the north, with a numerous force, and expelled Turlough, who fled for protection to the English, in 1250. Felim was allowed to retain his principality, and peace was concluded between him and the English.

[39.] In the province of Ulster, Brian O'Neill, dynast of Tyrone, submitted to the lord justice, in 1252. This submission, however, did not prevent Maurice Fitzgerald, with a large English force, from invading his principality. [40.] In this attempt, the English were defeated, with very great loss of life, and O'Neill took revenge by demolishing many of their castles, and desolating their possessions. [41.] A.D. 1255, a treaty was negotiated by Hugh, son of Felim O'Connor, between his father and the northerns. He brought, from the province of Ulster, all the Conacians, who were then in a state of disturbance; and the sons of Roderick or the English did not dare to molest these refugees, when retiring with their effects. A meeting also took place at the causeway of Mona Coinneadh, in the parish of Templetogether and county of Galway, between Felim O'Connor and Walter Burke. They concluded a peace, on conditions imposed by the king of Connaught.

[42.] About this period, Henry III. made a grant to his son Prince Edward and to his heirs for ever of the Irish kingdom, expressly enjoining its non-separation from the English crown, as constituting the connecting "link of each Island."

In 1255, the king approved of his son's project of passing over to Ireland from Gascony and of remaining in his newly acquired kingdom, for the winter, to reform and regulate the state of this country. By some it is supposed, the prince visited our Island, in obedience to his father's mandate; but our annals appear to be silent on this particular point. During his wars with the Welsh and Gascons, Henry repeatedly invited his Irish subjects to join him, as auxiliaries. [43.] But no effort of statesmanship was tried, to heal the internal dissensions of our disturbed country, to curb the rapacity of its governing classes, or to consolidate the power of English rule and interests. So far as regarded the unhappy natives, they were treated as a distinct and hostile element in the kingdom, even when differences of religion were unknown amongst the Celtic and Anglo-Norman races. The peculiar relations of both people—aggravated by doctrinal and sectarian prepossessions—perpetuated these evils of misgovernment to our own times, with still increased virulence and animosity.

[44.] Hugh, son of Felim O'Connor, who seems to have acted in conjunction with his father, was victorious over some of the Irish chiefs and their clans. He entered into a compact, A.D. 1256, with Alan de la Zouch, the English Justiciary, at Ruin Duin, that the territory or land of the O'Connors should not be circumscribed. [45.] In the north, Godfrey O'Donnell signally defeated a numerous English army, led by Maurice Fitzgerald

and other colonized Connaught barons. In this battle, fought at Creadran-cille, county of Sligo, A.D. 1257, Godfrey and Fitzgerald wounded each other in single combat. O'Donnell drove the English out of Lower Connaught, and demolished the castle which they had built at Belleck, on the river Erne. Soon afterwards, Maurice Fitzgerald died in the Franciscan monastery, which he had founded at Youghal, having assumed the monastic habit. O'Donnell continued languishing for the space of a year, on his sick-bed, in consequence of the wounds he had received. [46.] Brian O'Neill, taking advantage of his debility, assembled an army to invade Tyrconnell. He sent messengers to O'Donnell demanding hostages and submission, which exactions were indignantly refused. [47.] The dying chieftain mustered his forces, and ordered his men to bear him on the bier intended for his interment, at the head of his forces. Both armies met at the river Swilly, in Donegal, and here the men of Tyrone were defeated, with the loss of men, horses and baggage. On returning from their victory, the forces of Tyrconnell placed the bier of their gallant leader in the open street of a village near Letterkenny, where O'Donnell breathed his last. On hearing of his death, O'Neill repeated his former demands; but O'Donnell Oge, the son of O'Donnell More O'Donnell, who had only attained his eighteenth year, was elected tanist by the Tyrconnellians, and he appears to have maintained an independent attitude against the chief of Tyrone's pretensions.

[48.] Hugh, son of Felim O'Connor and Tiege O'Brian, conducted a great hosting to meet Brian O'Neill at Belleek, near Ballyshannon, when they agreed to confer the sovereignty of Ireland on the latter chieftain, in 1258. Hostages were rendered for the fulfilment of this compact. About the same time, a conference took place between the English and Irish, during the absence of Felim O'Connor, and peace was proclaimed between both parties.

[49.] Two years later, this agreement appears to have been violated ; for we find Mac William Burke and Felim O'Connor engaged in hostilities, which terminated in a doubtful peace once more—probably because both leaders had exhausted their efforts for purposes of factious opposition. In Ulster, also, O'Neill and O'Donnell devastated various localities and obtained hostages. But, in a battle fought at Downpatrick by Brian O'Neill and Hugh O'Connor, against the northern English, the latter were victorious. Several chiefs and 350 common soldiers fell on the Irish side. The lord justice, Stephen Longespé, commanded the English forces.

[50.] Nothing but disorder and turbulence prevailed, during the closing years of King Henry III's reign, throughout the different provinces of Ireland. The English barons suffered repeated disasters in skirmishes with Irish chieftains. Even amongst the Anglo-Norman nobles themselves desolating feuds broke out ; especially between the two powerful families of Burkes and Fitz-

geralds. In the year 1264, a conference was held at Athlone, where the lord justice of Ireland met Felim O'Connor and his son. The English were seized with fear and perplexity, as we are informed, when they saw Felim and his son approaching at the head of a numerous army. The English sued for peace, which was granted to them; then the opposing forces separated, on amicable terms.

[51.] Felim O'Connor, king of Connaught, died in the monastery, belonging to the Dominican Friars, at Roscommon, A.D. 1265. He was distinguished for his hospitality, valour and renown; his patronage of ecclesiastics and men of science is greatly lauded; his wisdom, clemency and truth being united with other fine personal advantages and qualifications. [52.] His son Hugh succeeded; but he was attacked with a dangerous disease, the report of which spread all over Ireland. [53.] The lord justice, Robert de Ufford, took advantage of his illness to erect the castle of Roscommon, and English soldiers plundered the western province. But in 1270, a great war being waged between the Earl of Ulster, Walter Burke, and the king of Connaught, the lord justice and the chief English barons, with their adherents, marched northwards from Roscommon to a ford on the Shannon river, near Carrick-on-Shannon. [54.] The king of Connaught, with some of his chiefs, remained on the eastern side of the Shannon, in the county of Leitrim. The lord justice and a small division of the English army halted on the western bank of the river, whilst the earl crossed

to the opposite side. Here O'Connor's people attacked the English and slew some of them. After a short consultation, the English agreed to negotiate a peace with the king of Connaught; and whilst the latter should visit the earl's house for this purpose, it was stipulated, that William Oge Burke must be delivered as a hostage to the Conacians. Before the conditions of this parley were ratified, William Oge was taken prisoner. The enraged earl rose early, on the following morning, with his English and Irish muster, and resolved on attacking O'Connor. Marching to Ath-an-chip, a ford on the river, near Carrick-on-Shannon, the earl attacked and slew Turlough O'Brian, who had come to assist the king of Connaught. The Conacians, however, encountered the earl's troops at the ford, and poured down on them, horse and foot, broke through their van, slaughtering many of the English knights and soldiers around the ford. William Oge, the earl's brother, was put to death, immediately after the battle, as an *eric* or atonement for the loss of the Munster chieftain. [55.] In the year 1271, Walter Burke, Earl of Ulster and lord paramount over the English of Connaught, died after a short illness, in the castle of Galway. The death of Henry III., king of England, followed, A.D. 1272.

[56.] The frequent change of lords justices, during this reign, indicates a vacillating or unsatisfactory system of government; and we may well suppose the constant domestic and foreign contentions, in which the king was engaged, left him neither



sufficient leisure nor inclination to devise measures for the settlement of this neglected and distracted island. The few franchises extended to its foreign rulers and settlers were studiously withheld from the natives, who appear never to have appreciated the favourable opportunities presented for establishing self-rule and for throwing off the yoke of their invaders. A number of religious establishments, founded during this period, gives us some idea of the faith and piety, prevailing amongst bishops, chiefs and barons. However, faction and dissension—so rife amidst the Irish princes and people—troubled the guardians of English interests within the pale, to an almost equal degree of anarchy and disorder. It only required a native leader, possessing the necessary qualifications of ability, courage, energy and patriotism, to overturn the unsettled rule of the foreign element in Ireland. Yet, he should prove himself capable of uniting and concentrating the desultory efforts of his unreflecting and divided countrymen, to succeed in any well-directed attempt, for the establishment of native independence.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. Who became administrator in Ireland during Richard's reign?
2. Were his arrangements satisfactory in De Courcy's estimation?
3. What happened in Connaught about this time?
4. What took place in 1192?
5. Describe the state of Ireland at this period.
6. What happened to the English in Munster and Ulster?
7. When and where did Roderick O'Connor die?

8. Who was appointed vicegerent in Ireland by King John?
9. Relate the occurrences, which divided the O'Connors of Connaught.
10. How did the lord justice conduct himself?
11. How did the alliance of Cathal Crowderg and William Burke eventuate?
12. What happened to John De Courcy?
13. What induced King John to visit Ireland?
14. When and where did he disembark?
15. What did he, during the time of his sojourn in our island?
16. To what cause may we attribute the extension of Magna Charta to Ireland?
17. Were its benefits equitably distributed?
18. What followed?
19. Who were the opponents of Hugh O'Connor?
20. How did Hugh proceed?
21. What next succeeded?
22. Was any plot devised for Hugh's betrayal?
23. How did he retaliate?
24. What was the result?
25. What divisions and disaster occurred in Connaught?
26. Who was next inaugurated as its king?
27. What remarkable chieftain died in 1230?
28. What attempt was made against Felim O'Connor?
29. Did it succeed?
30. Are any notable occurrences ascribed to the year 1234?
31. What opposition was next offered to Felim O'Connor?
32. How did the English act?
33. Did Felim recover possession of his province?
34. What took place in Ulster?
35. Had Felim O'Connor any particular object in view, when visiting Henry III. in England?
36. How was he treated by the king?
37. What invitation was next extended to the lord justice and Felim O'Connor?

38. What took place in 1249 ?
39. Did the submission of O'Neill procure him immunity from invasion ?
40. Were the invaders successful ?
41. What treaties were now ratified ?
42. Who was appointed king of Ireland by Henry III. ?
43. Were the natives of this country justly treated by the foreign colonists ?
44. What did Hugh O'Connor effect ?
45. Describe the achievement of Godfrey O'Donnell, in 1257.
46. Who took advantage of his illness to invade his domains ?
47. How did the heroic O'Donnell act in this emergency ?
48. Who offered the sovereignty of Ireland to O'Neill ?
49. What events followed ?
50. Towards the close of Henry III's reign what took place in Ireland ?
51. How did Roderic O'Connor's life end ?
52. Who succeeded him in Connaught ?
53. What troubles next ensued ?
54. At Carrick-on-Shannon what happened ?
55. What are the most interesting notices for A.D. 1271 and A.D. 1272 ?
56. What observations apply to the social, political and religious state of Ireland, at this period ?

## LESSON XV.

The Irish refused protection by an introduction of English law and usages—Recommendation of King Edward I.—Intestine broils—First acts of King Edward II.—Invasion of Edward Bruce—Arrival and departure of King Robert Bruce—Battle of Faughard—Other important Irish matters occurring during the reign of Edward I. and Edward II.\*

[1.] WHEN Edward I. ascended the English throne, peace and security for life or property appear to have been subverted, throughout the whole extent of Ireland. Fully convinced of those evils arising from their own deplorable social and

\* From the printed works which may be consulted for this period of our history, the following deserve notice: Holingshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*; Campion's *Historie of Ireland*; Henry Marleburrough's *Chronicle of Ireland*; Dr. Hanmer's *Chronicle of Ireland*; Gale's *Inquiry into the Antient Corporate System of Ireland*. Besides the foregoing, the student of Irish history may refer to Dalrymple's *Annals of Scotland*; to Tytler and Sir Walter Scott's *History of Scotland*; to Barbour's *Metrical Life of Robert Bruce*; and to the various records of Scotland which have relation to Bruce's invasion of Ireland. The Patent and Close Rolls of England, Ireland, and Scotland are also necessary for purposes of erudite reference. Amongst the MSS. may be mentioned the Irish work, *Caithreim Thoirdhealbhagh*, or, Wars of Turlough O'Brian; some of the Irish poems, written by Cobthach O'Carman, Owen M'Carith, Torna O'Maolconaire, Cathan O'Duinnin and Angus Roe O'Daly, all of whom flourished at the commencement of the fourteenth century.

political state, we find the Irish natives petitioning for an extension of English laws and usages, to secure them from that rapacity and injustice, to which they were habitually subjected by their oppressors. [2.] The death of Hugh O'Connor, king of Connaught, in 1274, left that province a prey to anarchy and bloodshed. A base act of treachery and cruelty is recorded as having occurred in 1277, when Brian Roe O'Brian, Lord of Thomond, was taken by the son of Earl Clare and bound to wild horses, until tortured to death, although these chiefs entered into solemn protestations of mutual friendship, and had become sworn gossips. This barbarous murder was avenged soon afterwards by the O'Brians, who burned the church of Quin, in the County of Clare, over the heads of Earl Clare's people, who had sought refuge under its sacred roof.

[3.] Meantime the lord justice, Maurice Fitz-Maurice, having been seized by the Irish and cast into prison, Lord Walter Genevil filled this office for a term, and was succeeded by Robert de Ufford, in 1277. [4.] In the year 1280, Edward I. urged the lords spiritual and temporal, with his English subjects in Ireland, to assemble and take counsel on the expediency of entertaining a petition from some of the native Irish to be admitted to the privileges of English lieges. These petitioners had promised 8,000 marks, as an inducement to obtain the king's assent to their request. This offer probably inclined him to lend a favourable ear to the prayer of their petition, and in order to turn his

concessions to the most profitable account, he recommended the lord justice to stipulate for the highest sum he could obtain from the suppliants, and to require a contingent of soldiers for the recruiting of his armies, so often engaged in foreign and domestic war. [5.] But the rapacious barons, knowing that such concessions would materially circumscribe their powers for violence and oppression, always resisted these politic-but irresolute intentions of their monarch.

[6.] Nothing indicates more clearly the unsettled state of society in Ireland than the varied accounts of conflicts, treachery and devastation, so constantly recurring in our annals about this time.

[7.] Amongst the English barons, Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, became first in fame and prowess, especially after he had invaded Connaught, in 1286. On the Irish side, Carbury O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, and Calvagh O'Conor Faly, chief of Offaly, defeated their English aggressors, in two different engagements, fought A. D. 1289.

[8.] Sir William de Vesey having been appointed lord justice of Ireland in 1290, soon afterwards entertained such a hatred and jealousy towards John FitzThomas FitzGerald, Baron of Offaly, that a personal altercation ensued. When summoned to England, before the king and his council, abuse, recrimination and charges of treason were mutually interchanged. Their vituperative speeches ended in a challenge, given by the Baron of Offaly and accepted by De Vesey.

[9.] However, on the day fixed for this combat,

De Vesey did not appear to enter the lists, having fled privately to France. Whereupon, the king bestowed his lordships of Kildare and Rathangan, which had been held by the fugitive, on Fitz-Gerald. [10.] This latter nobleman was common ancestor of the two great Geraldine branches; one of his two sons, John, who was the eighth Baron of Offaly, having been created Earl of Kildare, whilst the other son, Maurice, was advanced to the earldom of Desmond.

[11.] Mutual dissensions broke out between the Baron of Offaly and Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster. In 1294, the latter was captured by Fitz-Gerald, and confined in his strong castle of Lea, situated on the low banks of the river Barrow. FitzGerald, Baron of Offaly, in conjunction with Birmingham, then devastated Connaught, yet without making any permanent conquest within that province. The Earl of Ulster was released from durance, A. D. 1295, by command of the English king; and, as a penalty for Fitzgerald's transgression, the castles of Kildare, Sligo and all his possessions in the province of Connaught were taken from him. [12.] This year, also, Sir John Wogan, having been appointed lord justice, contrived to settle the existing feud between the Fitzgeralds and De Burgos. [13.] He also summoned the chief barons of the pale to a parliament assembled at Kilkenny, where some acts were passed to secure English settlers against Irish incursions. Want of unanimity and a common interest would seem however to have prevented the latter from

entertaining any determined purpose, to engage in aggressive movements against their oppressors. Many of the Anglo-Irish barons and their followers were summoned to his aid by the king, during various inroads made upon Scotland. Anarchy and bloodshed continued in Ireland, amongst the inhabitants both of English and Irish descent, until the death of Edward I., which occurred in the year 1307.

[14.] His son, Edward II., succeeded, and immediately on his accession, having recalled his banished favourite Gaveston to England, the barons haughtily demanded the expulsion of this royal minion. Affecting compliance with their desires, Edward selected Ireland as the place of exile for his *protégé*. Thither Gaveston sailed from the port of Bristol, in 1308, when he had been created lord lieutenant. [15.] His career in Ireland was distinguished by no ordinary amount of activity and success, whilst engaged in enforcing submission on the part of native chiefs to the English rule. He rebuilt some castles demolished by the Irish; but twelve months of his lieutenancy had scarcely elapsed, when Gaveston was recalled to England. [16.] Connaught and Munster were convulsed with internal broils and factions, during the administration of Sir John Wogan, who had been re-appointed lord justice of Ireland, for the third time.

[17.] Their brilliant and decisive victory achieved by the Scots over the English, at Bannockburn, in 1314, had awakened for a kindred people warm



sympathies and aroused ambition among the northern Irish chieftains, to originate some effective means for obtaining the like blessings of national independence. [18.] Proposing to Robert Bruce the propriety of making his brother, Edward, king of Ireland, they agreed to rally round the latter, immediately on his arriving in their country. [19.] As Edward had already demanded a share in the sovereignty of Scotland, King Robert eagerly inclined to the expressed wishes of these Irish chiefs, and made every preparation to organize a military and naval expedition, destined for the coasts of Ireland. [20.] Accordingly, on the 26th of May, 1815, Edward Bruce landed on the shores of Antrim, with a fleet of 300 sail and an army of Scots, estimated at 6,000 men. Immediately on his arrival, the Irish of Ulster hastened in great numbers to fight under his standard. [21.] With united forces, the Scots and Irish overran the whole province of Ulster, within an incredibly short period. Dundalk, Ardee and some other places in Louth were taken and demolished by the invading forces and their allies. [22.] De Burgo, earl of Ulster, raised a large army, chiefly in Connaught, where he was joined by Felim O'Connor, with a great number of dependents. Having formed a junction with Sir Edmond Butler, the lord justice, and after having effected some military evolutions, Felim O'Connor was induced to desert De Burgo's standard and return to Connaught. The Scots and Irish crossed the river Bann, when they gave battle to the Earl of Ulster, at Connor. Here the Anglo-Irish leader

was defeated and afterwards forced to fly for protection towards the western province.

[23.] Edward Bruce, who had already caused himself to be proclaimed king of Ireland, next besieged the castle of Carrickfergus, where some of the defeated English had taken refuge. [24.] In the meantime, the O'Connor family in Connaught had been divided into opposite factions. Felim O'Connor, king of Connaught, who had accompanied the Earl of Ulster to the north, encountered a formidable rival at home, in the person of Rory O'Connor, who had taken up arms against the English and had destroyed some of their castles. Edward Bruce entered into a correspondence with Felim, who agreed to hold the kingdom of Connaught from the Scottish leader; whilst Rory had despatched emissaries with offers of alliance to Bruce. Felim obtained a great victory over his rival, who was slain in battle, with a considerable number of his retainers. [25.] Then having directed his efforts against the English, Felim obtained some advantages, which were, however, more than counterbalanced by a signal defeat suffered in the great battle which was fought on the 10th of August, 1316, at Athenry, where the Irish are said to have lost 11,000 men, with many of their most renowned leaders. Felim, king of Connaught, with the reputation of a brave commander, fell in this disastrous engagement, at the early age of twenty-three. [26.] Bruce spent some time in endeavouring to reduce the stronghold of Carrickfergus; but at last he raised the siege to proceed

southwards, through the midland counties of Leinster. His advance caused the rising of various native septs ; but the prevalence of famine at this time obliged the Scottish leader to retire upon Ulster. [27.] At the town of Kells, he gave battle to 15,000 English, under the command of Sir Roger Mortimer, who suffered an ignominious defeat. [28.] King Robert Bruce landed in Ireland with a great army to assist his brother Edward, and with united forces the garrison of Carrickfergus, after a brave and protracted defence, was compelled to surrender.

[29.] Robert Bruce, accompanied by a large army of Scots and Irish, advanced to Dublin, where he arrived about the close of February, 1317. The citizens were in a state of consternation, but lost no time in making energetic preparations for defence. The English and Irish appear to have been almost equally demoralized and disorganized, during the progress of these transactions. [30.] The suburbs of Dublin were burnt down by the citizens, to prevent their invaders from finding there a shelter on approaching. Richard, Earl of Ulster, now advanced in years, was arrested on suspicion of having favoured the cause of Bruce, whilst DeLacy joined his forces with the Scots and Irish. King Robert Bruce, however, on finding the metropolis so strongly fortified and so resolutely defended by its citizens, deemed it a useless waste of time and valour to attempt its reduction by the slow process of a siege. [31.] Conducting his army southwards through Kildare, Kilkenny,

Tipperary and Limerick, he burned and plundered the English foundations, civil and ecclesiastical, wherever he passed. [32.] Famine, pressing sorely on this desolated country, disconcerted his plans. Although the English mustered a force of 30,000 men to surprise and harass the King of Scotland, they did not, however, venture to risk a decisive engagement with him. [33.] About the commencement of May, Bruce was obliged to retreat upon Ulster. He soon afterwards set sail for Scotland, leaving his brother Edward to sustain the cause, in which his fortunes were embarked. [34.] This retreat of the Scots and Irish, into the northern province, allowed the English an opportunity for making many successful diversions around the borders of their own settlements.

[35.] About this period, certain misrepresentations of the Irish clergy and laity having been forwarded by the English to Rome, the Sovereign Pontiff had been induced to direct censures of the Church to be launched against all those, who were guilty of disaffection towards the dominant power. [36.] O'Neill, Prince of Tyrone, in the name and on behalf of the whole Irish nation, addressed a memorable and spirited remonstrance to Pope John XXII, in which the atrocious tyranny and misgovernment of their rulers are eloquently and indignantly asserted and denounced. It is declared, that a rejection of their petitions for redress and for just treatment as subjects, by the king and people of England, led the Irish to summon Edward Bruce and the Scots, as auxiliaries, to espouse their cause

and to fraternize with an oppressed race, whose origin, feelings, habits and laws were similar to those of the brave and victorious Scots.

[37.] In the year 1318, Edward Bruce raised a small army, with which he advanced to Dundalk. Here he was opposed by John Birmingham, at the head of an English force, which had marched from Dublin. [38.] The battle of Faughard, fought on the 14th of October, resulted in favour of the English army. The Scottish leader, with many of his chieftains, fell in this sanguinary conflict. [39.] The Irish annalists appear unjustly disposed to attribute many of the calamities and the memorable famine, which desolated our Island, to this brave leader of their choice, with whose death terminated any rational expectation of achieving native independence.

[40.] A Bull having been granted by Pope Clement V. for the foundation of a University in Dublin, this design was carried out by the Archbishop, Alexander Bicknor, in 1320. Various untoward circumstances occurring in these turbulent and uncivilized times probably caused the failure of this foundation. Some religious houses were also established in different parts of Ireland, during the reigns of the two first Edwards. [41.] Feuds and treachery amongst the chiefs of English and Irish blood give a fearful picture of the state of society, amongst the governing classes, in this country. Murder and rapine disfigure the pages of our annals, and recur in frequent and revolting succession. When such characteristics stained

the escutcheons of so many noble families, we may safely infer, that demoralization and crime pervaded the humbler ranks of society, and the records of these lawless times bear the fullest evidence of prevailing disorder, licentiousness, gross superstition and depraved morals.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. Describe the state of Ireland on the accession of Edward I.
2. What are the incidents recorded in our annals about this period?
3. What persons filled the office of justiciary at this time?
4. Did the English king offer any recommendations in favour of the native Irish?
5. How were they received?
6. What are the leading features of our history towards the close of the thirteenth century?
7. Who were the most notable characters on the Irish and English side?
8. What personal altercation now took place?
9. State the result of this difference.
10. What powerful families sprung from John FitzThomas FitzGerald?
11. Did any other quarrel ensue amongst the powerful English barons?
12. Who became chief pacificator?
13. What followed to the close of King Edward's reign?
14. How did Edward II. act on his installation?
15. Was Gaveston's lieutenancy in Ireland characterized by acts of vigour?
16. What happened after his recall?
17. Did any remarkable event arouse a public spirit in Ireland soon after the accession of Edward II.?
18. What proposition was made by the Ulster chieftains to the king of Scotland?

19. How was it received ?
20. What measures were taken to ensure success ?
21. Were the Scots and Irish at first victorious ?
22. Who were their chief opposers ?
23. What enterprize next engaged the attention of Edward Bruce ?
24. What took place at this time in Connaught ?
25. Did any remarkable battle result in favour of the English ?
26. How did Bruce act ?
27. Where did the English suffer a defeat ?
28. What took place on the arrival of King Robert Bruce in Ireland ?
29. Whither did he march ?
30. What occurred on his approach to Dublin ?
31. What route did he take on raising the siege ?
32. To what cause was his failure to be attributed ?
33. Did King Robert Bruce continue long in Ireland after his retreat to Ulster ?
34. How were the English benefited by these events ?
35. Was the cause of Ireland favourably regarded at Rome ?
36. Who replied to foreign misrepresentation on behalf of the Irish ?
37. What happened in 1318 ?
38. When and where was the decisive engagement fought ?
39. Were the Irish annalists favourably impressed with the results obtained by the invasion of Edward Bruce ?
40. What foundation was projected about the commencement of the fourteenth century ?
41. Describe the internal state of our Island during the reigns of the first Edwards.

## LESSON XVI.

Condition of Ireland after the commencement of the fourteenth century—Turlough O'Connor's proceedings in Connaught—Acts of the Irish chief governors—Parliament at Kilkenny—First Expedition of Richard II. to Ireland—Opposition of Art MacMurrough Kavanagh, King of Leinster—Second Expedition of the English monarch—Foiled by his former brave opponent—State of Irish affairs after the commencement of the fifteenth century—Sir John Talbot's administration—Victories obtained by Irish Chieftains—Death of Art MacMurrough, and estimate of his character and position.\*

[1.] Soon after the accession of Edward III. to the English throne, King Robert Bruce landed at Carrickfergus, in 1328, and informed the Justiciary and Council that he desired to meet them at Green Castle, when he would make peace between Ireland and Scotland. This invitation was

\* The works useful for illustrating the series of events comprised in this chapter are, O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. iv.; *Tracts relating to Ireland*, vol. ii.; Primate Colton's *Visitation of Derry*, A.D. 1397; O'Donovan's version of the *Topographical Poems of John O'Dubhagain and Giolla na Naomh O'Huidhrin*; T. Darcy M'Gee's *Life and Conquests of Art MacMorrough* and *History of Ireland*; Sir John Froissart's *Chronicles of England, France, Spain, and the adjoining countries*; Ellis's *Original Letters illustrative of English History*; Sir H. Nicholas' *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*.



not however accepted, and the King of Scotland soon afterwards returned to his own country. [2.] Nothing of any great importance occurred, with the exception of various quarrels amongst powerful Anglo-Irish chiefs, in which natives were also frequently implicated. The feudal rule of the lords palatine and great barons over a population subject to their absolute sway was found so insupportable and oppressive, that some of the Irish again petitioned the crown to be permitted the protection of English law, without being obliged to purchase charters of denization in obtaining such permission. However the tyrannical power and influence of their alien nobles and oppressors were sufficient to preclude all reasonable hope of procuring this desired privilege.

[3.] The impolitic parcelling of whole Irish districts, amongst a few haughty and rapacious oligarchs, produced consequences fraught with dangers to the royal prerogative. Feuds were carried on irrespective of governmental designs, and alliances were formed with the old natives, which were oftentimes found extremely embarrassing to the king's lieutenants. In Connaught, the De Burgos declared themselves independent of English law, having adopted the Irish language, customs and manners. Most of those turbulent and unprincipled lords exercised royal jurisdiction throughout their respective districts, which they ruled with arbitrary control.

[4.] Whilst Edward III. was meditating a sudden irruption on Scotland, he publicly proclaimed

his intention of passing over to Ireland, in order to reform existing abuses in this kingdom. He had even ordered that the same law should be observed by the Irish and English, and that all absentees within his own realm possessing lands in Ireland should hasten thither for the defence and supremacy of his authority. Royal power at this time was so greatly circumscribed and weakened, that transactions within the English pale appear to sink into comparative insignificance, in the accounts furnished by our native annalists.

[5.] During the year 1338, Turlough O'Connor expelled the De Burgos and other English out of Connaught; but having divorced his virtuous lawful wife, Dearbhail, and allied himself to the daughter of Turlough O'Brien, this scandalous act estranged from him the friendship of many Connaught chiefs. In the year 1342, after experiencing much opposition, he was deposed through a combination formed against him. Three years later, this dynast was killed by an arrow, and his son Hugh was appointed to succeed him as king of Connaught.

[6.] About this period, the English monarch appears to have resolved on adopting a course of policy in order to control the pretensions of his rebellious Anglo-Irish subjects, by adopting various rigorous and restrictive measures. Sir John Morris, as lord deputy, was charged with the commission of executing them. [7.] These official attempts were however vigorously opposed by the leading barons. Sir Ralph Ufford, appointed

lord justice, in 1344, adopted very arbitrary means to overcome resistance offered by the refractory Geraldine earls of Desmond and Kildare. This lord justice died during the month of April, 1346, and earned for himself odium and execration from those he had so severely repressed during his lifetime. [8.] For politic reasons, the king condemned his severity, and afterwards received the earls of Desmond and Kildare into favour, by conferring on them their forfeited estates, and advancing them to positions of distinguished honour. In 1347, Kildare received his grade of knighthood from the king, for gallant conduct exhibited during the siege of Calais; whilst Desmond was appointed justiciary of Ireland for life, A.D. 1355. This office, however, he only enjoyed for the short space of five months, when his death took place at the castle of Dublin.

- [9.] Little historic interest attaches to various local quarrels, originating in the rivalry of chiefs and nobles, amongst native septs and colonists, at this time. [10.] In 1360, the king's third son, Lionel, afterwards duke of Clarence and then earl of Ulster by right of his wife, was sent over as lord lieutenant. He landed in Dublin with a force of 1500 men. [11.] His youth and inexperience, combining with directions or intimations previously received, induced him to rank the colonists of Irish birth with native enemies; but his ill success in some military enterprises showed him how necessary it would prove to abandon this course of policy and summon all the king's sub-

jects to his standard. He returned to England, in 1364, without having obtained any great success against the natives or having consolidated the military or political power of the pale. During the three following years, he was twice re-appointed to fill the same office, but for a very short interval on both occasions. [12.] Without the limits of the pale, all the great English lords appear to have acted as if they were virtually independent of their sovereign and his deputy. Intermarriages and fosterages with the native tribes produced oftentimes a community of sympathy, feeling and interest, between both races.

[13.] To counteract this state of things, a parliament was convoked at Kilkenny in 1367, during the last administration of Lionel. There it was enacted, that church immunities be guaranteed; that intermarriage or connexion with the natives by fostering or alliance should be deemed high treason and punished accordingly; that the Irish language, dress and customs be interdicted English subjects, under forfeiture of lands and tenements; and that the adoption or use of the Brehon law be regarded as treason. Various minor enactments, regarding sales of merchandize, sports, misdemeanours, church regulations, waging war with the Irish, trespasses on land and refusing benefices or monastic admission to Irishmen, &c., were passed. Irish rhymers and minstrels were prohibited from receiving entertainment amongst the English; the keeping of kerns,\* hobblers,† or

\* Foot-soldiers.

† Horsemen.

retainers during a time of peace was forbidden ; whilst lords and chiefs were rendered responsible for the good conduct of their followers. Provision, under severe penalties, was made for preservation of the peace and due administration and execution of these laws.

[14.] Enactments of this nature, for the most part oppressive, impracticable and unjust, only tended to keep alive sectional animosities, and their impolicy was soon manifested by inevitable results. Distrust and national enmity engendered collisions and hostilities ; but probably, the very contemptible and helpless condition to which the colonists were soon afterwards reduced by native inroads, prevented a unity of action amongst the Irish chiefs and septs, for the immediate expulsion of their insolent intruders. The O'Conors, O'Briens and O'Neills obtained signal but desultory victories over the foreign colonists, about this period now under consideration. Nothing but dire discord amongst the Irish themselves saved the English colony from utter destruction.

[15.] Lionel was succeeded for a short term by Gerald the Poet, earl of Desmond, and in 1369 Sir William de Windsor became lord lieutenant. During his government various revolts and incursions on the pale took place. The office of chief governor of Ireland was considered so onerous and distasteful, that it was positively refused by Sir Richard Pembridge. In 1376, James, the second earl of Ormond, was chosen to fill the office of lord justice, and a parliament was called

to provide for the exigencies of government. It was found very difficult however to procure the necessary supplies, and ecclesiastics as well as laics offered great opposition to the heavy exactions imposed upon them. This state of affairs must have been made known to the king, whose warlike expeditions to Scotland and France seem to have engaged his attention, during a considerable portion of his long reign, which came to a termination in 1377. His youthful grandson, Richard II., succeeded; but being a minor, the the administration of affairs in England devolved on his uncles.

[16.] A law against absenteeism ordained, that all, who possessed lands, rents or offices in Ireland, should reside there or provide necessary means to defend their possessions. Otherwise two-thirds of their Irish revenues should be exacted to attain these objects; unless when special exemptions released them from such stringent demands. A commissioner was appointed to inquire into the condition of Irish affairs and to investigate the conduct of Irish officials. These were amongst the first measures taken for the government of this country on the accesssion of Richard II.

[17.] Edmond Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster, was sent to Ireland with great powers as lord justice, in 1380. Several of the northern Irish chiefs repaired to pay their court to him; but an act of treachery, towards one of their order, caused them to distrust his intentions and remove from his presence. Soon afterwards, Mor-

timer invaded Ulster, where he destroyed many towns and fortresses.

[18.] In 1383, Roger, son of the former, was appointed to succeed in the same office on the death of his father; but being under age, his guardian and uncle, Thomas Mortimer, administered the affairs of state. Again, Philip de Courtenay, a cousin to the king, succeeded this young earl, and obtained a grant of the viceregal office for ten years. He was, however, soon deposed and severely punished for peculation and oppression, with which he had been accused. In 1385, Richard II. conferred the titles of Marquis of Dublin and Duke of Ireland on his favorite Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, to whom he transferred the sovereignty of this island for life. The king had thoughtlessly resolved on sending his favorite on an intended expedition to Ireland, but suddenly changed his mind and concluded on keeping De Vere near himself. Sir John Stanley was next appointed lord deputy, and held his office until relieved by James, the third earl of Ormond. These administrative changes are overlooked by our native annalists, who continue to record with minute and painful accuracy, various feuds or forays, that usually led to bloodshed, with destruction of life and property, amongst native septs without the dominion of the English pale.

[19.] With his usual impulsive capriciousness, the king resolved on visiting Ireland in person, as well to subdue his rebellious vassals as to effect the entire subjugation of that country. He accord-

ingly landed at Waterford, on the 2nd of October, 1394, with an army consisting of 34,000 men, conveyed in 200 vessels. [20.] The same year a force was led by Art MacMurrough Kavanagh, a renowned king of Leinster, against the English, when he burned New Ross and took away gold, silver and hostages. Meantime Richard had advanced to Dublin, whilst he received the submission of many petty chiefs, especially from the north and east of Ireland. However MacMurrough offered strenuous opposition to him, and slew many of the invading forces. A futile effort was made to bring MacMurrough to terms. Having been solicited to present himself before the king, he was induced to consent and for some time unjustly detained as a prisoner, but was afterwards liberated. [21] Richard's intentions towards the native Irish are represented, as having been fairly entertained, with a desire to grant them royal protection; but his desires were apparently counteracted, in a great measure, by recommendations coming from the council in England. His effort was however directed towards improving the administration of affairs, by wise reforms and politic projects. After some months spent in pageants of state and in endeavouring to conciliate the favourable opinions of the native chiefs—in which he partially succeeded—Richard was obliged to leave for England, in the summer of 1395. [22.] Previous to his departure, young Roger Mortimer, heir-presumptive to the crown, was appointed his vicegerent for Ireland. [23.] Many of the native septs,



however, took advantage of the king's absence to break into open revolt. By isolated enterprises, they obtained some victories over the colonists. In a battle fought at Kenlis, in Ossory, A.D. 1398, the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes gained a signal victory over the English, in which the young viceroy was slain. Still nativist energies for mutual and unnatural contention continued unabated, especially in the west and north of Ireland.

[24.] These continued disturbances and the death of his kinsman caused King Richard II. to undertake another expedition to Ireland, in 1399. Having embarked a large army in 200 ships, he landed once more at Waterford. After a short delay, Richard marched towards Kilkenny. His kinsman the duke of Albemarle was expected to follow with a fleet of 100 vessels, but failed to arrive in good time. [25.] Richard directed his chief effort against the heroic Art MacMurrough, who retired on his approach into forests and fastnesses; thus completely setting at defiance all attempts to bring on a decisive engagement, whilst this chieftain maintained his desultory warfare of a peculiarly harassing nature against the invading forces. [26.] Although some Irish chiefs submitted to the monarch and amongst others MacMurrough's own uncle; yet, the king of Leinster haughtily rejected all overtures for a compromise. He was well advised of the straits to which the English army had been reduced for want of food, and the difficulties they had to overcome in penetrating through a

country wasted with fire and sword, and over roads impeded by fallen trees, morasses, wild mountains and deep valleys.

[27.] Through the defiles of Wicklow, Richard was at length obliged to retreat towards the capital. Irish enemies ever actively engaged him in small bands, hung on the rere of his army, and improved every advantage presented for interrupting supplies or skirmishing with detached and struggling companies. This judicious system of attack and annoyance was accomplished with little loss to the guerilla bands engaged. The king at length arrived in Dublin covered with discomfiture, humiliation and disgrace.

[28.] Soon after Richard's departure, the king of Leinster sent a messenger to him proposing a conference, with a view of establishing peace between the contending parties. The English king eagerly accepted this proposal, and requested the earl of Gloucester to meet MacMurrough. This interview took place near a small brook, opening into the sea; but after considerable discussion, the king of Leinster refused those proffered terms by which Richard's friendship might be obtained. On hearing this futile result of a protracted conference, the English monarch flew into a violent rage, declaring with an oath, that he would never leave Ireland until MacMurrough fell into his hands, dead or alive. [29.] About this time, Albemarle's reinforcements had reached Dublin. The king, having formed his army in three divisions, resolved anew on engaging or surprising the

indomitable chief in his mountain fastnesses. He also proclaimed, that 100 marks in gold should be the reward of whoever might deliver MacMurrough into his custody. But a revolution, which determined the fate of Richard, had occurred during his absence in Ireland. The Duke of Lancaster had invaded England; and the king immediately left Dublin, on receiving the first information of this revolt. Thus, English interests within the pale were left once more in confusion. The native septs carried hostilities to the very walls of Dublin. Closing the fourteenth and commencing the fifteenth century, many Irish chiefs had recovered possession of territories wrested from their ancestors. In several instances, settlers within the English pale were obliged to purchase protection or toleration, by payment of an annual tribute to the rightful owners of the soil, who had enforced their title by the swords of conquerors.

[31.] During the government of Ireland by Sir John Stanley, soon after Henry IV. obtained possession of the English throne in 1399, the English parliament was obliged to vote a subsidy in order to relieve pressing exigencies of Irish colonial possessions, which then scarcely exceeded the bounds of four counties, viz. Dublin, Louth, Meath and Kildare. The Scottish fleets had also made ravages amongst English vessels retained for the defence of maritime portions of the pale. Henry IV. sent his young son Thomas, with the title of Duke of Lancaster, to fill the station of Irish deputy, in 1402. This office he retained

for two years, when it passed in quick succession to Sir Stephen Scroop and to the Earls of Ormonde and Kildare.

[32.] In 1405, Art MacMurrough renewed hostilities, and plundered the county of Wexford, as also the towns of Carlow and Castledermod.

[33.] The Duke of Lancaster was sent once more in 1408 to exercise the office of lord lieutenant, and immediately after arriving, he arrested the Earl of Kildare, but for what reasons we are not clearly informed. This deputy led the English of Dublin upon an expedition through Leinster, without obtaining any important result, for MacMurrough is represented in the Irish annals as having been victorious. O'Connor Faly also offered a gage of battle, and carried off great spoils from the English pale. Lancaster left Ireland in 1409, having previously liberated the Earl of Kildare and appointed Thomas Butler, prior of Kilmainham, to guide the reins of government. This latter deputy was soon afterwards defeated by the O'Byrnes of Wicklow. [34.] Expedients produced by wholesome fear and a precarious tenure of power led to concessions being made Irish enemies, which could never have been expected from their rulers' sense of justice. Those statutes, which were intended and served to keep the Celt and Anglo-Norman distinct in race and interest, were now revoked, when it was found peculiarly imprudent to insist on their enforcement. A gloomy picture of rapine, exactions, hostilities, misgovernment, waste and insecurity for life and property spreads

over the pages of our historic records at this epoch. We are also informed from English sources, that the greater part of the lordship of Ireland had been conquered by the natives, during this reign.

[35.] Soon after the accession of Henry V., in 1413, Art MacMurrough, the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, the O'Conors of Offaly and the MacGeoghegans of Meath obtained victories over the English.

[36.] Sir John Stanley became deputy for a short time, and rendered himself unpopular by his extortion and tyranny. He incurred enormous debts, which he left unpaid; whilst it is remarked that he gave neither reward nor protection "to clergy, laity or men of science." [37.] In the year 1414, Sir John Talbot, Lord Furnival and afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury, landed in Ireland to assume the office of lord deputy. He entered upon the duties of his station with determination and energy, having succeeded in various enterprises undertaken against the native chieftains. His course of subjugating policy appears to have been judiciously conceived and ably executed, by attacking the various chiefs in detail and by imposing on the conquered an obligation of sustaining his efforts; thus, he obliged one "Irish enemy" to serve against and destroy another. The palesmen felt greatly relieved by these successes; but, in order to obtain them, they were obliged to submit to those vexatious oppressions of *coyne* and *livery*, which meant the free quartering and support of a rude and licentious soldiery, on their lands and in their houses. Lord Furnival was however soon

called away from Ireland to attend on and serve the king, during a hostile expedition undertaken against France.

[38.] The date of his departure furnished a fresh opportunity for the native chiefs to rise in revolt. O'Connor of Offaly sorely defeated the Meathian English, A.D. 1416, when he took a great spoil of prisoners, horses and armour.

[39.] The veteran warrior Art MacMurrough also ravaged the county of Wexford, where he obtained a signal victory over the English, 340 of whom he killed or took prisoners on this occasion. His vanquished enemies sued for a peace, which they obtained, after the delivery of hostages to this Leinster king. [40.] The term of this chivalrous, pious and hospitable prince was brought to a close in the month of January, 1417, after having defended his patrimony against English and Irish opponents, from his sixteenth to his sixtieth year.

During forty-two years, he ruled over the lordship of Leinster, with signal prosperity. [41.] In stature tall, in frame strong, agile and well composed, his countenance was remarkably stern-looking and fierce. Subtile, resolute, and wary, his natural bravery scarcely ever betrayed him into rashness, in conducting his warlike enterprises ;

although a natural generosity and confiding disposition overbore his prudence, on one occasion when consenting to place himself at the mercy of his enemies. [42.] It was generally suspected, amongst the Irish, that a woman at New Ross administered a poisonous drink to him and to his chief brehon, O'Doran, from the effects of which both died.

[48.] Never were fairer opportunities presented for acquirement of a glorious fame, by the brave MacMurrough, than arose from the period and position, in which his destiny was cast; for, it only required a persistent effort, to establish his supremacy over the demoralized and weakened English colony, could his influence unite other allied Irish chieftains to co-operate in such an enterprise. The Scottish fleets, which hovered round our Irish harbours and which so often proved destructive to Anglo-Irish commercial interests, could have been probably utilized, in any aggressive measures required on the high seas. Their natural love for military adventure and the spoils of conquest would certainly engage them, as ready partizans, in any well devised scheme of action against the palesmen. Were the conflicting interests of other Irish and naturalized chieftains reconciled, and mutual concessions for the public welfare of a common country adopted, with the outline for establishment of a future popular, consolidated, independent government, defined and understood, all details necessary for achieving happy results might easily find development in future wise and salutary measures. However, the isolated position of MacMurrough's territory, and a difficulty in obtaining interviews and conferences with other petty potentates, for purposes of mutual action, must not be underrated. There is also too much reason to fear, that selfishness, apathy and private motives dominated over the minds of his contemporary chieftains, rather than the nobler instincts

of true ambition, self-sacrifice or resolute efforts to second the calls of duty or patriotism. To this celebrated chieftain we must accord the praise of being a brave and skilful warrior ; but he does not appear to merit the character of having exhibited distinguished and profound political or statesmanlike qualities.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What object had Robert Bruce in coming to Ireland ?
2. Describe the state of affairs now prevailing.
3. Did any injury result to Anglo-Irish interests by the partition of lands amongst a few nobles ?
4. Who was expected to arrive in Ireland, at this time ?
5. What happened in 1388 and the three succeeding years ?
6. Were any measures projected to restrain the authority of the Anglo-Irish lords ?
7. Did they prove effective ?
8. What happened after the death of Sir Ralph Ufford ?
9. Are any affairs of historic importance on record about this period ?
10. Who was now appointed to the administration of the Irish government ?
11. Were his measures judiciously taken ?
12. What took place without the English pale ?
13. What provision was made to consolidate English rule ?
14. Was the object sought duly accomplished ?
15. What happened under Lionel's successors ?
16. What was decreed on the accession of Richard II. ?
17. What followed on the appointment of Edmond Mortimer as lord justice ?
18. Who succeeded in this office ?
19. What enterprise was undertaken in 1394 by the king of England ?



20. Who became distinguished as an adversary amongst the Irish princes ?

21. How did Richard II. act whilst he remained in Ireland ?

22. Who was named as chief governor on his departure for England ?

23. What happened after the king's departure ?

24. When did the king undertake his second expedition to Ireland ?

25. How did he proceed ?

26. What next happened ?

27. What opposition did he experience ?

28. Did the overtures of MacMurrough meet the king's approval ?

29. What was the result ?

30. Describe the condition of Ireland when the king left Dublin.

31. What order was next taken to retrieve the declension of English power and influence ?

32. What were MacMurrough's next exploits ?

33. Who were afterwards appointed to superintend Irish affairs ?

34. What expedients were resorted to in the emergencies of government ?

35. What reverses awaited English arms ?

36. Were Sir John Stanley's acts approved ?

37. What successes attended the governorship of Sir John Talbot ?

38. What occurred after his departure ?

39. What success signalize the close of MacMurrough's career ?

40. When did his death occur ?

41. Describe the personal appearance and character of this heroic man.

42. What suspicions prevailed as to the cause of his death ?

43. Do any reflections suggest themselves, on a review of Art MacMurrough's career ?

## LESSON XVII.

Exclusion of natives from ecclesiastical benefices—Wars amongst the Irish chiefs—English chief governors—Richard, Duke of York—The earls of Ormonde, Desmond, and Kildare—Decadence of English colonial power—Quarrel between Hugh Roe O'Donnell and Con O'Neill—Irish factions.\*

[1.] THE king's Anglo-Irish subjects presented a petition to parliament, in 1417, stating, that as this island was divided between two nations, no Irishman should be presented for the future to any vacant ecclesiastical office or benefice, nor should bishops be allowed, under penalty of forfeiting their temporalities, to collate any Irish cleric to a church living; neither should Irish servants be permitted to attend them, it was urged, whilst the prelates assisted at parliaments or councils held in Ireland. This insolent, exclusive and intolerant application was readily granted, and was probably sought to be enforced in more than one remarkable instance. [2.] Towards the close of Henry V.'s

\* Illustrative works, for the period comprised in this chapter, are, Sir William Betham's *Origin and History of the Early Parliaments of Ireland*; E. P. Shirley's *Some Account of the Territory or Dominion of Farnley*. Amongst the MS. authorities may be classed the *Annals of Connacht*; the Brehon Law MSS. now (1863) preparing for publication; the Annals written by Cathald MacMagnus or Charles Maguire, Canon of Armagh; the historic writings of Faelan Mac a Gobhan, Brian Roe M'Coinmhidhe, Tadhg O'Higgin, John and Conor Roe M'Coinmhidhe.

reign, the Irish commons presented a petition to their king, in which are exposed detailed instances of peculation and extortion, grievous abuses and maladministration, besides various vexations and injustices, to which his majesty's lieges were subjected, both in England and Ireland.

[3.] Meantime, factious combinations and contests amongst the O'Neills, O'Donnells, O'Conors, Maguires, O'Roorke and other minor chiefs continued, whilst the English and Scots also figure on the scene. Such was the distracted state of Ireland, when Henry VI., an infant not quite nine months old, was proclaimed king of England, A.D. 1422. During this year, the O'Neills and O'Donnells, with some other Ulster chiefs, burned and plundered the northern parts of Connaught, when they were encountered at Sligo, by the O'Conors and O'Roorke. The very same year, these invading chiefs appear to have quarrelled amongst themselves. [4.] In 1423, the Ulster chieftains advanced to the town of Dundalk, thence to Louth, and afterwards to Meath. Having encountered the Lord Deputy and his English forces, the Irish gained a complete victory. Peace was afterwards made, but only when the English engaged to pay a tribute, called "Black Rent," to their conquerors. The next year, James, earl of Ormonde, was sent over to Ireland, as Lord Lieutenant, and accompanied by a considerable army. This force, strengthened by some alliances formed with Irish chiefs, enabled him to retrieve English reverses in the north.

[5.] For a short time, Edward Mortimer, earl of March, was governor of Ireland. Having died of the plague at Trim, Talbot, Lord Furnival, resumed the office he formerly exercised, and soon signalized his advent to power by treacherously seizing upon certain Ulster chieftains, who were imprisoned at Dublin. [6.] In 1429, the English of Meath, in alliance with the O'Roorkes and some of the O'Reillys, were defeated at Aghakillmore, in the county of Cavan, by O'Neill, with the forces of Oriel and Fermanagh. The O'Neills afterwards devastated various English settlements in Louth, Longford and Westmeath. Manus MacMahon and Donough MacMurrrough, son of Art, obtained advantages over the English, in 1431; but the latter chieftain was surprised and defeated by his opponents, on the very evening of the day on which he gained a victory. It would seem, however, that Brian MacMahon sided with the English, against his relative Manus. Having joined their forces together, a burning and plundering raid into Monaghan and Armagh was the consequence. MacMurrrough also ravaged the English territories; and, in an attack made upon him, the English were routed, whilst many of them were killed, wounded and taken prisoners. The Earl of Ormonde, on the English side, ravaged the territory of Ely O'Carroll. These events took place in 1432.

[7.] For some years, afterwards, we find the native chieftains deplorably divided, so that kinsmen were often found embroiled in the most bit-

ter feuds, owing to disturbed succession and a violation of the tanistry law, amongst the most distinguished Irish families. Unaccountable alliances and battles, between English and Irish, fill up this interval.

[8.] Certain representations, made to the king of England, in 1441, urged him to depose Earl Ormonde from the Lord Lieutenancy on ground of his being too old and feeble for an effective discharge of his official duties. [9.] Some years later, on being charged with corruption, extortion and embezzlement of public funds, he was arrested and committed to the tower, whilst Talbot, Lord Furnival, then created earl of Shrewsbury, was appointed Lord Lieutenant, A.D. 1446, with the additional Irish titles, Earl of Waterford and Baron Dungarvan. The following year, having treacherously invited Felim O'Reilly to his house at Trim, this young heir to the lordship of Breifny was taken prisoner. The captive soon afterwards died of a plague then raging.

[10.] Richard, duke of York, nephew to the last earl of March, was appointed Lord Lieutenant for a period of ten years; he arrived in Ireland, A.D. 1449, and was there received with distinguished honour. Besides inheriting an Irish title, Earl of Ulster, he was a prince of the blood royal; and his rank, together with an amiable and a conciliatory disposition, endeared him to the circle of all his acquaintances and dependents. [11.] Even the native Irish, within the pale and on its borders, showed him marks of esteem and honour.

In addition to those precarious revenues claimed for the crown in Ireland, he brought a grant of money from England, to enable him to carry on the operations of government. In 1450, great depredations having been committed by the son of Chief Mageoghegan, on the English, the Duke was obliged to march as far as Mullingar, when after some consultation, the terms for an amicable agreement were arranged. [12.] Margaret O'Carroll, wife of Calvagh O'Connor Faly, remarkable for her charity, liberality, patronage of learned men and ecclesiastics, as also for her public spirit, paid the debt of nature in 1451; whilst her son, Phelim O'Connor, a youth of great bravery and promise, only survived her a single day.

[13.] A formidable insurrection, headed by one Jack Cade, an Irishman, had broken out in England before this time, and suspicions were entertained, that this revolt had been instigated by the Duke of York. The latter, who had ingratiated himself into the favourable opinions of those people over whom he ruled, sailed for England, when he had appointed the earl of Ormonde as his deputy. Having defeated the king, at the battle of St. Alban's, reverses afterwards took place, which obliged him to fly through Wales into Ireland. Once more, however, his fortunes prevailed at the battle of Northampton, fought in 1460. Subsequently, however, this Duke, with 3,000 followers, including many Irish chiefs from Meath and Ulster, fell in the battle of Wakefield Green, towards the close of this same year.

[14.] During the administration of Ormonde, he obtained some advantages over the Irish. Under the rule of successive Lords Justices, quarrels between native and naturalized chiefs are frequently recorded ; but from the information furnished us, neither interest nor sympathy can be awakened in a dispassionate reader of our history, for the miserable issues involved, and for the ignoble actors participating in these contemptible broils.

[15.] Sir John Butler, sixth earl of Ormonde, was sent over to Ireland with a great retinue of Englishmen, A.D. 1462. We find him next engaged in a contest with the earl of Desmond. A loss of over 400 men signalized Ormond's defeat at Pilltown, in the county of Kilkenny ; but he also appears to have acquired the power of reversing this disaster. [16.] Soon afterwards, Thomas, eighth earl of Desmond, was created Lord Chief Justice of Ireland ; and, in 1464, many of the English and Irish chiefs waited on him at Dublin, when they entered into a league of fealty and friendship with him. In 1466, Desmond led an army of English against O'Connor Faly ; but the Lord Justice and several of his officers accompanying this expedition were captured—they were however subsequently rescued. O'Brien, Chief of Thomond, plundered the Irish of Desmond and West Munster ; and we are told, that he obtained from the English in Leinster all he demanded. [17.] Meantime, Earl Desmond's ruin had been secretly planned : the Earl of Worcester having

been sent from England to supersede him, and Desmond having unsuspectingly gone to Drogheda for the purpose of meeting the newly appointed Justiciary, the southern Geraldine was treacherously seized and beheaded there, in 1468. [18.] Through revenge for this foul conspiracy against the life of a beloved father, his son Garrett caused much destruction in Munster and Leinster. The Earl of Kildare, who had been involved with Desmond in the act of attainder, escaped to England, laid his complaints before the king, who not only pardoned, but made him Lord Deputy.

[19.] A victory was obtained by the chiefs of Tyrconnell over MacWilliam Burke of Clanrickard, A.D. 1469. Two years later, the Earl of Kildare and the Meathians made an inroad on the MacMahons of Farney; but when the native forces were mustered, great depredation, burnings and slaughter awaited the English in revenge for their foray. Various feuds have place in our annals, amongst our chiefs of Irish and English descent, after these occurrences. [20.] During this period, the fortunes of many English settlers in Ireland were reduced to a low ebb; and in order to provide measures for defence, a military fraternity, known as the Brothers of St. George, was organized. It consisted of fourteen persons occupying the first rank, and whose loyalty was unquestioned; these were selected from the four districts of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Louth. The captain of this brotherhood was assigned a standing force of 200 men, whose maintenance was a charge on the



diminished resources of the English pale. Even this small retinue, a few years later, was further reduced to 120 horsemen; and lest the sum of £600 required annually for their support might tax Irish resources too onerously, it was also provided that this amount should be sent from England, if occasion demanded. A pitiable exhibition of foreign domination, after a struggle for supremacy extending over 800 years!

[21.] In 1483, a war broke out between Hugh Roe O'Donnell and Con O'Neill. With a considerable force, the former chieftain advanced towards the town of Dundalk, which was plundered and burned, whilst the surrounding country was also devastated. Garrett, son of Thomas, earl of Kildare and Lord Justice of Ireland, made head against the invaders leading a great English host, but he was completely routed with the loss of numbers, who were slain. O'Donnell next partially burned the town of Louth, but agreed to accept payment, in lieu of plunder, for further sparing it. This chieftain afterwards set out on his return homewards through the territory of O'Neill. He spoiled and burned the country on either side of him, as he passed along, until he had reached the Blackwater river. Having felled some impervious woods and opened a passage, he ordered a strong wicker bridge to be constructed across this stream, over which his army of horse and foot passed in perfect safety. This bridge was then floated down with the current, to prevent a pursuit of enemies, who could only view their retreating spoiler from

the opposite bank. This incursion probably affords a fair specimen of similar hostile expeditions, so common about that period.

[22.] The Geraldines appear to have enjoyed a monopoly of power, during the brief reigns of Edward V. and Richard III. [23.] At this time, we not only read of native clans divided and warring amongst each other; but it is also quite usual to find the same sept and even members of the same family arrayed, as open and irreconcilable enemies. Factions, such as these, planted the seeds of perennial discord, weakened the natural bonds of kindred or friendship, and produced frequent examples of most pernicious demoralization; inviting aggression from without, and fostering internal enmities, they served to effect and perpetuate hopeless ruin and national thralldom.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. How did the English colonists act in reference to the natives?
2. What formed the subjects of an Irish parliamentary petition?
3. Give some idea of the intestine quarrels prevailing about this period.
4. What exaction was now imposed on the palesmen?
5. Who were sent as governors to Ireland?
6. What reverses were suffered by the English?
7. Describe the state of Irish affairs at this epoch.
8. What charges were preferred against the earl of Ormonde?
9. Was he removed from administration?
10. Who succeeded Talbot, Lord Furnival?

11. Was Richard, Duke of York, popular?
12. What remarkable persons died in 1451?
13. Narrate the issue of York's ambitious career.
14. How did Ormonde's government succeed?
15. What happened between the earls of Ormonde and Desmond?
16. What occurred under the rule of Thomas, eighth earl of Desmond?
17. What fate befel this earl?
18. What followed?
19. Did the colonists suffer any losses in and after 1469?
20. To what straits were the English reduced?
21. What warlike events occurred in Ulster, A.D. 1483?
22. What Anglo-Irish family maintained ascendancy at this time?
23. How were Irish interests weakened, and what was the necessary consequence of native dissensions?

## LESSON XVIII.

Simnel's appearance in Ireland—Clemency and policy of Henry VII. towards the Irish lords—Perkin Warbeck lands in Ireland—Contests between the Ulster chieftains—Sir Edward Poyning's administration—Hugh Roe O'Donnell—The Earl of Kildare created lord lieutenant—Quarrels amongst the O'Neills and O'Donnells—The Earl of Kildare's victories in Connaught—Battle of Knockdoe—Death of Hugh Roe O'Donnell.\*

WHILST various depredations and contests took place amongst the Irish chieftains without the pale, after the accession of Henry VII. to the English throne, an event of some importance in connexion with the history of a neighbouring island must be noticed during this period. [1.] Young Simnel, the son of an Oxford tradesman, had been induced to personate Edward Plantagenet, created Earl of Warwick, by his uncle Edward IV. This young prince, then only fifteen years of age, had

\* The authorities for consultation, in addition to those already named, are, O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. v.; John Davis White's *Cashel of the Kings*, or, *A History of the City of Cashel*; Stanihurst *De rebus Hibernicis*; Molyneux's *Case of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated*; O'Flaherty's *Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught*, written A.D. 1684, edited by James Hardiman; Lord Bacon's *Life of Henry VII.*; Dr. Todd and John Clarke Crosthwaite's *Book of Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church, Dublin.* Amongst MSS. yet (1863) unpublished are Archbishop Allen's *Repertorium Viride* and the *Liber Niger, seu Registrum Joannis Alani*.

been kept a close prisoner in the tower by Henry, and the circumstance of his confinement induced some members and adherents of the house of York to select Ireland as the scene for opening operations, since the Yorkist's party yet enjoyed much influence and privilege there, notwithstanding the change of succession in England to the house of Lancaster.

[2.] Attended by Simons, an Oxford priest, this youth of eleven years landed in Dublin about the commencement of 1486. Gerald, Earl of Kildare, the lord deputy, whose loyalty had been distrusted in England, and a great majority of the laity and clergy within the pale, received the young imposter as rightful heir to the English throne. Henry became greatly alarmed on hearing this intelligence, and would have gone over to Ireland in order to quell the insurrection, had he not feared the machinations of the queen-dowager in England, during his absence in our Island. Being crowned on Whit Sunday, in Christ Church, Dublin, before the lord deputy, the lord chancellor, and many of the most eminent men of this kingdom, Simnel was proclaimed, with the title of Edward VI., king of England and France, and lord of Ireland. He was then conducted in triumph from the cathedral church to Dublin Castle. [3.] Soon afterwards, with a large force of Anglo-Irish and Germans, he landed on the coast of Lancashire; but being overmatched in force, Simnel was utterly routed and taken prisoner in a desperate battle fought at Stoke, in Nottinghamshire. Nearly all the rebel leaders and 4,000 men fell on the field.

[4.] Conscious as the king was of the culpable and disloyal part played by his lord deputy in this transaction, yet he deemed it politic to pardon the Earl of Kildare and other disaffected barons, as he probably feared the consequences of driving them into open hostility or alliances with the turbulent native chiefs. Kildare was even retained in his office of lord deputy, to the apparent prejudice of the Ormonde family, which had proved faithful to the Lancasterian fortunes. This clemency, shown to his rebel subjects in Ireland, contrasted strongly with the vigour exercised against the Yorkist party in England.

[5.] Those chiefs, who had obtained pre-eminence amongst the Irish, about this time, were Felim Finn O'Connor, in the west, and Hugh Roe O'Donnell, in the north of Ireland. [6.] In the year 1488, Sir Richard Edgecomb was sent over to Ireland, as king's commissioner, for the purpose of administering new oaths of allegiance to the barons of the pale and to make other arrangements for securing order within this portion of the realm. [7.] This official landed at Kinsale and afterwards proceeded to Waterford, where he was honourably received by the citizens, who had been distinguished by their unshaken loyalty during the late rebellion. Thence he left for Dublin, where he had a first interview with the Earl of Kildare; and he was afterwards induced to visit the castle of the Geraldines at Maynooth, where he was splendidly entertained. Having ventured to remonstrate in a threatening manner with certain refractory lords of

the pale, these declared, that rather than submit to any arbitrary proposals or bonds they would side with the native Irish against their king. The commissioner fearing this temper of the barons, yielded to more accommodating terms, and at length agreed to receive a solemn oath of allegiance, ratified in the great chamber of St. Thomas' abbey, Dublin, by the lord deputy. This example of fealty was imitated by all the leading barons, bishops and great officials.

[8.] Sir James Butler, natural son of John Earl of Ormonde, landed in Ireland during the June of 1492, with a small band of soldiers. He commenced by vigorously enforcing his claims to the chieftainry of his family. A quarrel afterwards ensued between this invader and the Earl of Kildare. [9.] The latter was removed from his office of lord deputy, which was conferred on Walter Fitzsimons, Archbishop of Dublin. The earl appears to have been chagrined in consequence of this treatment, and accordingly withdrew his protection from the English of Meath, who failed in sustaining his quarrel. The native Irish septs, over whom he exercised great influence, seized upon this opportunity for the general burning and spoliation of their enemies' property.

[10.] In the year 1492, Peter Osbeck, more commonly called, Perkin Warbeck, arrived at Cork. He announced himself as Richard, Duke of York, one of the two young princes, who had been murdered in the Tower of London by Richard III. Notwithstanding the failure of

Simnel's former pretensions, which were of a somewhat similar nature, John Waters or Walters, the mayor, and a great majority of the citizens received the adventurer with acclamation and welcome. [11.] Henry, then engaged in a war with France, growing alarmed at the disturbed and disorganized state of our island, summoned the archbishop of Dublin to his presence, whilst Sir Robert Preston, first Viscount Gormanstown, was appointed Lord Deputy during that prelate's absence. [12.] In 1493, Ulster was greatly disturbed by contests amongst the O'Neills. Hugh Roe O'Donnell led a predatory army through several districts of this province, when he was pursued and overtaken amongst the Mourne mountains in Down, by Henry Oge O'Neill at the head of a numerous hosting. O'Donnell, having led his forces safely through a difficult pass, met his opponent on a level plain, where after a fierce and obstinate conflict, O'Neill was totally routed. The approach of night prevented O'Donnell's forces from following up their victory.

[13.] King Henry VII. sent Sir Edward Poyning, a trusty privy councillor, to conduct the Irish government. [14.] Having brought with him a force of 1,000 men, with some distinguished English jurisconsults, he undertook an expedition to Ulster, A.D. 1494, as Hugh Oge M'Mahon and John O'Reilly had defeated an English force there with the loss of sixty English gentlemen slain and many taken prisoners. It is also said, his object was to punish some of Warbeck's adherents, who



had taken refuge in Ulster. Little appears to have been accomplished: for Poynings having entered the territories of O'Hanlon and Magennis, a report was spread that the Earl of Kildare, who accompanied him on this march, was implicated in a conspiracy with the former of these chiefs to surprise the lord deputy. News also arrived, that the Earl's brother had rebelled and taken Carlow Castle. This induced Poynings to make peace with the northern chiefs. On departing southwards, he besieged and took possession of Carlow Castle, which held out for ten days. [15.] In the month of November, the lord deputy convened a memorable parliament at Drogheda, in which the statute known as Poynings' Act was passed. It provided by law, that no parliament should be held in Ireland for the future, until the chief governors and council had certified to the king under the great seal the "causes and considerations" which were intended to be legalized, so that the same might first be approved by the king and his counsel. The Earl of Kildare, his brother James and several other Geraldines, were declared traitors, and a resumption of crown grants, made since the close King Edward II's reign, with some few exceptions, formed a part of this code. With the exception of the statute, which proscribed the Irish language—now almost universally prevalent even within the pale—all the odious distinctions between the English settlers and the "mere" Irish promulged through the former Kilkenny enactments were confirmed. It was likewise de-

creed, that all the English laws lately passed should be binding in Ireland. The consequences resulting from this law, which abrogated the independence of Irish parliaments, were felt to be intolerable, and subsequently gave rise to grave constitutional discussions and indignant protests during the strenuous contests, which eventuated in effecting its repeal.

[16.] The Scottish historians inform us, that the Great O'Donnell, as he is called, went on a visit to the king of Scotland in 1495, when he was received with distinguished honours. These potentates formed a league to assist each other in all emergencies. [17.] During the absence of this warlike Tyrconnell chief, his son Con besieged the town of Sligo, which the Connaught chieftains relieved with a large force. Con O'Donnell was near paying the penalty of his aggressions, when his father, Hugh Roe, arrived from Scotland, and marched without delay from his fortress of Donegal with the necessary succour. Coming up in the very crisis of time, a fierce battle was fought at Ballydrihid, near Ballysadare, in the county of Sligo, which resulted in a complete victory for the Ulster forces, whilst numbers of Connaught nobles and plebeians were slain, drowned or captured. O'Donnell afterwards plundered their territory and exacted submission.

[18.] The act of attainder against Kildare obliged him to appear in England as a prisoner; but when he was afforded an opportunity of pleading his cause before King Henry, a frank sim-

plicity of manner prepossessed that monarch in his favour. Being recommended to provide himself with good counsel by the king, Kildare replied, that he would select the best in England, and in consequence appoint the sovereign himself. When his accuser declared as the finale of his charges, that all Ireland could not govern Kildare, "Then," replied the monarch, "he is the fittest man to govern all Ireland." The chieftain O'Hanlon appeared for the purpose of stating upon oath the earl's innocence regarding all complicity with him in conspiring against the English lord deputy, Poynings. Kildare was not only pardoned and restored his former possessions; but he was even created lord lieutenant by letters patent, dated the 6th of August, 1496.

[19.] Once more the pretender Perkin Warbeck landed at Cork. There he is said to have been joined, soon after his arrival in 1497, by the Earl of Desmond, with a force of 2,400 men. A siege of Waterford was the first enterprize undertaken. This blockade lasted for eleven days, when its citizens boldly sallied forth and compelled their assailants to raise the siege. Warbeck returned to Cork, where, joined by his former friend John Waters, the mayor, both embarked on that wild expedition to England, which terminated with their ignominious execution at Tyburn. Desmond, notwithstanding his rebellion, obtained the king's pardon. [20.] The Great O'Donnell resigned the lordship of Tyrconnell in 1497, and Con was nominated to the chieftainry soon afterwards;

however Hugh Oge, brother to the latter, would not consent to this arrangement. Having induced the Burkes to take part with their fleet and mariners in his quarrel, Con was for a time victorious over his brother. However, he was afterwards defeated with great slaughter, by MacDermot, amongst the Curliou mountains. Henry Oge O'Neill seized this opportunity to lead his army against Tyrconnell, when he wasted the district of Fanad, and routed Con's forces at the river Leanan. O'Donnell with many of his soldiers fell in this engagement. Afterwards, Hugh Roe assumed dynastic rule, and associated in sway his son Hugh Oge, who had been released from prison.

[21.] The Earl of Kildare, in conjunction with some of the Ulster chiefs, besieged and bombarded the castle of Dungannon, in 1498. This fortress was taken; and many prisoners, who had been detained in it, were released. Con O'Neill, who held this fortalice was slain within it, and great spoils were afterwards secured. Donnell O'Neill was left in possession of Dungannon, whilst the army of English and Irish moved forward to the castle of Omagh, where Niall O'Neill submitted to them and gave hostages on their departure. [22.] The year following, Kildare took the castles of Athleague, Tulsk, Roscommon and Castlereagh, in Connaught. Joining with Hugh Roe O'Donnell, the earl led an army into Tyrone, A.D. 1500, and besieged the castle of Kinard. It was taken and afterwards given into the custody of Turlough O'Neill, the nephew of Kildare; but this chief

only held it for six weeks, when he was obliged to surrender to Donnell O'Neill, who made him prisoner.

[23.] After these events, Mac William Burke of Clanrickard attacked O'Kelly and his gallowglasses, on more than one occasion. This induced Melaghlin O'Kelly to seek the Lord Justice's interference, who is supposed to have eagerly seized on this opportunity to avenge a private grudge against Clanrickard. [24.] Accordingly the Earl of Kildare mustered a great army, consisting of forces marshalled by all the most powerful lords in the pale, with most of the Ulster chiefs and their clans, joined by many of the Connaught septs. [25.] The Munster chiefs took part with Clanrickard. [26.] On the 19th of August 1504, these opposing armies met at the hill of Knockdoe, about eight miles from the town of Galway. [27.] A fierce onset took place, and after a violent struggle, with great loss on both sides, Clanrickard and his nine battalions suffered a total defeat. The field of battle was covered with dead bodies, broken spears, cloven shields and shattered swords. [28.] The lord justice after obtaining this signal victory, proposed to Hugh Roe O'Donnell that they should march upon Galway before night; but he was dissuaded from adopting this course by the Ulster chieftain, before their scattered forces had been duly collected. An encampment was accordingly formed on the battle-field for that night; and on the following morning, their elated and victorious army marched forward towards Galway. Two

sons, and it is stated, two daughters, of Mac William accompanied this hosting as prisoners. [29.] After a short delay in Galway town, they went to Athenry and obtained possession of it. Here Kildare took leave of O'Donnell and the other chiefs, when departing to their respective homes. [30.] The renowned Hugh Roe O'Donnell did not long survive this victorious campaign. He died on the 11th of July, 1505, after ruling over Tyrconnell forty-four years and having attained the seventy-eighth year of his age. [31.] He endowed a monastery for Franciscan Friars of the Strict Observance, at Donegal, in which the Annals of the Four Masters were afterwards compiled. He likewise built a strong castle near it, to serve as a protection for his descendants. This warlike and politic chief, remarkable also for his hospitality, cheerfulness of disposition, liberality and piety, was interred within the monastery of his own foundation erected at Donegal.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. Who appears at this period on the stage of English and Irish history?
2. How was Simnel received in Dublin?
3. What was the issue of his enterprise?
4. What course did the king adopt in reference to his Anglo-Irish barons?
5. Name the two Irish chiefs most remarkable about this time.
6. Who landed in Ireland, A.D. 1488, and what were the objects of his mission?
7. Describe his course of procedure.

8. How did Sir James Butler act ?
9. How was the Earl of Kildare treated ?
10. What were the pretensions of Perkin Warbeck ?
11. How did Henry VII. receive this news ?
12. What took place in Ulster ?
13. Who came to Ireland as chief governor ?
14. What were his first exploits ?
15. Relate what occurred in the parliament assembled at Drogheda.
16. What object had O'Donnell in view by visiting the King of Scotland ?
17. What occurred during O'Donnell's absence, and after his return ?
18. How was Kildare received in England by King Henry VII. ?
19. What was the result of Perkin Warbeck's second visit to Ireland ?
20. What happened in Ulster, A.D. 1497 ?
21. After Kildare's interference in Ulster contests what ensued ?
22. What enterprizes were next undertaken by him ?
23. What aggressions afterwards occurred in Connaught ?
24. Did Kildare respond to the invitation of Melaghlin O'Kelly ?
25. What chiefs sided with Clanrickard ?
26. Where and when did the hostile forces encounter ?
27. State the result.
28. What took place after this battle ?
29. What happened when the conquerors departed from Galway ?
30. What remarkable chieftain died in 1505 ?
31. What erections distinguished his term of rule, and what were the leading features of his character ?

## LESSON XIX.

The Earl of Kildare's administration and death—His son summoned to England, and the Earl of Surrey appointed Lord Lieutenant—Kildare's reinstatement in office—Differences amongst the Irish chieftains—Serious charges against the Earl of Kildare—Rebellion of Silken Thomas—Its final issue—Commencement of the Reformation in Ireland—Opposition of the Catholic clergy and laity.\*

[1.] WHEN Henry VIII. began his reign, the government of Ireland was still left in the hands of Gerald, Earl of Kildare, as lord deputy. [2.] This bold and enterprising veteran led a force against the Mac Carthys of South Munster in 1510, having been aided in his expedition by Hugh O'Donnell. Advancing towards Limerick, they were encountered by Turlough O'Brien. The lord justice marshalled his army by placing the English and Irish of Munster in its van, and the English of Meath and Dublin, with O'Donnell and his Ulstermen, in the rear; night put an end to a well contested battle, and on the following day,

\* The works of reference which may be consulted for this period of Irish history are, Cobbett's *History of the Reformation in England and Ireland*; Thomas Darcy M'Gee's *History of the Attempts to establish the Protestant Reformation in Ireland*; Dr. Renehan's *MS. Collections on Irish Church History*, edited by the Rev. Daniel M'Carthy; De Burgo's *Hibernia Dominicana*, and *Supplementum Hiberniæ Dominicanæ*; the Christian Brothers' *Historical Class-Book*.



Kildare deemed it advisable to retreat, which he appears to have done in tolerable order, although with considerable loss of men and spoils. [3.] In 1512, a war broke out between O'Donnell and MacWilliam Burke of Connaught, in which the former chief was victorious: this Tyrconnell chieftain also ravaged the district of Art O'Neill in Tyrone. Once more the Earl of Kildare invaded Connaught, by way of Athlone; and O'Donnell advanced to the Curliou mountains, for the purpose of forming a league with the lord justice. This latter nobleman afterwards made an inroad round the north-eastern parts of Ulster.

[4.] It seems probable, that James IV. of Scotland meditated an invasion of Ireland about the same time; but, as we are told, O'Donnell paid him a visit, and induced the monarch to change his intention of coming over to this country. [5.] Earl Kildare marched at the head of his army towards the territory of Ely O'Carroll; but, being taken ill at Athy, he was thence removed to Kildare, where he died in September, 1513. [6.] His son, Garrett, also called Gerald Oge, was selected to succeed him by the privy council, and afterwards this heir to the family estates and honours obtained letters-patent as lord deputy. The O'Neills and O'Donnells had various contests in the north; whilst family feuds between the Desmonds and Ormondes prevailed in the south. [7.] The young lord justice acted with vigour, against certain native chiefs opposed to his family; but some of the Butlers had contrived to excite suspicions of

maladministration, which caused charges to be preferred against him. Having been summoned to England by the king, and having, with the royal permission, appointed Sir Thomas Fitzgerald of Laccagh as deputy during his absence, the lord justice was obliged to answer in person these accusations.

[8.] Through the influence of Cardinal Wolsey, Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, was sent as lord lieutenant to Ireland, A.D. 1520. [9.] This politic and brave nobleman made head against some of the Irish chiefs; but he soon found it impossible to cope with unforeseen difficulties, in prosecuting this sort of warfare. He became satisfied, after a little experience, that in order to repel all warlike opposition effectually, it would be necessary to accomplish the entire conquest of this country. Yet, he felt fully convinced, that all the available resources of England would not then be capable of achieving such an object. By wise counsel and conciliatory efforts, he served English interests well, during the short time he remained in our island. [10.] On pretext of ill health, Surrey received permission to return to England, about the close of 1521; Pierce Butler, who was his confidential friend, accepting the office of lord deputy on his retirement.

[11.] About this period, the Scots were arriving in great numbers and acquiring territories within the province of Ulster. The Irish privy council applied to Cardinal Wolsey, that some English cruisers should be despatched to prevent this immigra-

tion, and thus counteract any alliances dangerous to the interests of government. [12.] But wars between the O'Neills, O'Donnells and their respective adherents would seem to preclude any effective union amongst the chiefs of Ulster ; even, if they entertained more ambitious and patriotic aspirations, than appear to have actuated them, throughout their bootless contentions. For the most part, we find Hugh O'Donnell successfully emulating his father's prowess as a warrior, whilst engaged in burning, plundering and devastating the territories of weaker opponents.

[13.] In the year 1522, Kildare returned from England, and during the following year, he led an army against O'More, O'Conor Faly and other Leinster chiefs. Con O'Neill accompanied this hosting, and through his arbitration, a peace was at length agreed upon, with the delivery of hostages. On that occasion, however, the earl fell into an ambuscade, from which he retired with the loss of several men. O'Neill and Kildare next resolved on attacking O'Donnell ; but after making fruitless attempts, an accommodation was effected. Subsequently, a conference of leading English and Irish chiefs was assembled at Dublin by Kildare, who had been appointed lord deputy after the removal of Earl Ormonde. Vain efforts to promote peace were followed by the usual course of petty hostilities.

[14.] A confederacy of the Connaught chieftains formed against O'Donnell, in 1526, ended by the latter obtaining a complete victory over them

near Sligo. The dynast of Tyrconnell afterwards overran a great portion of the western province, and he then returned to the north with his victorious army. [15.] Before these occurrences, Francis I., king of France, had entered into a secret correspondence with James, Earl of Desmond, for the purpose of planning an invasion of Ireland. These projects were disclosed to the English monarch and to Cardinal Wolsey, who summoned the earl to London. Conscious of his deep complicity in treasonable designs, Desmond refused to obey this mandate. [16.] The lord deputy received orders to arrest him; but failing in the attempt, his own fealty became a subject for suspicion. He was summoned to England, in 1526, to answer various charges brought against him. After undergoing an imprisonment in the Tower, this satrap of royalty was liberated on bail given by the Earl of Surrey, then Duke of Norfolk, and by other noblemen.

[17.] On the departure of Kildare for England, Lord Delvin was officially appointed to assume the charge of administration. It had been customary to pay the tribute of Black Rent to several Irish chiefs, bordering on the pale, as a bribe to secure immunity from their hostile attacks. [18.] O'Connor Faly remonstrated against a retention of this tribute, and had arranged to meet Lord Delvin at Sir William Darcy's castle, near Ruthen, to hold a conference regarding this matter. The Baron of Delvin was however taken by O'Connor in an ambuscade, whilst proceeding to the

appointed place. Neither threats nor persuasions could induce the chief of Ophaly to liberate his distinguished prisoner. The Earl of Ossory, who was then appointed Lord Justice by the council, felt obliged to sanction the payment of a tribute to O'Connor. This practice was nevertheless prohibited soon afterwards by an act of parliament. [19.] These aggressions of O'Connor, married to Kildare's daughter, were supposed to have been instigated by the captive earl, who was accused of collusion with Irish chiefs, engaged in a matured project for general rebellion. [20.] About this period, also, an envoy had been sent to Earl Desmond, by the celebrated Emperor, Charles V. of Spain, for the purpose of devising a plan to attempt the invasion of Ireland. The earl's death which soon followed completely dissipated this project. [21.] Notwithstanding all the suspicions attaching to Kildare, he was not deprived of his title, although restricted in his power, as lord deputy. Having conferred the higher office of lord lieutenant on an illegitimate son, Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, in 1530, Sir William Skeffington was sent by the king to Ireland as his deputy, the Earl of Kildare being appointed coadjutor.

[22.] On directing our attention to events taking place without the pale, the O'Donnells once more appear as troublesome aggressors against the Connaught chiefs. Kildare and Skeffington treacherously made a prisoner of O'Reilly, who had been induced to visit them on the assurance of being

honourably treated. They also invaded Ulster, when in conjunction with the O'Donnells and some of the O'Neills an unsuccessful attempt was made against Tyrone. [23.] The Earl of Kildare seems to have embroiled himself in native contests, more through family motives and alliances, than with a view to extend the power and influence of his sovereign master. Mutual recriminations between himself and Skeffington ended in the latter being superseded, to pave the way for Kildare's reinstatement as sole lord deputy. This latter nobleman took the oath of office, in the month of August, 1582.

[24.] Lord James Butler, son to the Earl of Ossory and nephew to Kildare, received his appointment as lord treasurer of Ireland, at the very time his kinsman was promoted. This was intended as a counterpoise to the rule of his superior. Although thus nearly related, all the official power and influence Butler could command were employed to embarrass the government of his uncle. Other powerful enemies were at work, and by means of their intrigues and representations, Kildare was summoned to England. [25.] Having vainly urged pretexts for delay, in obedience to more peremptory orders, Kildare assembled his council at Drogheda. Then appointing his son, Lord Offaly, better known by the appellation of "Silken Thomas," who had not yet completed his twenty-first year, to assume the office of deputy during his own absence, the earl embarked for England in the month of February,

1584. The king ordered Kildare to be arrested and confined in the Tower, immediately after his arrival in London. [26.] About this period, we are assured on good authority, that the English law, order, language or habit was neither used nor obeyed in Ireland above twenty miles in compass; whilst the Irish counsellors declared their opinion, that even this circumscribed territory might possibly be reduced to the same condition, as other portions of the island. A general practice of great English lords taking Irish tenants; liberties and royalties monopolized by a few absolute barons; tribute and "black rent" paid to some of the Irish chiefs; negligent keeping of royal records and alienation of crown lands, to the manifest loss of the king's revenues and prerogatives are set forth, amongst the principal causes, which accounted for the universal decay of this kingdom.

[27.] Amongst many romantic and eventful episodes of Irish history, the rebellion of Silken Thomas deserves especial notice. This rash and impetuous young nobleman, surrounded by indiscreet friends and crafty unscrupulous enemies, was induced to resolve on an ungovernable course of action, in consequence of false rumours and letters circulated to the effect, that his father had been beheaded in the Tower, and that the like fate impended over other members of his family in Ireland. [28.] On the 11th of June, 1584, this high-spirited noble, at the head of 140 well armed horsemen, proceeded to St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, where the council had been convened. Here,

having surrendered his sword and robes of state to George Cromer, archbishop of Armagh and lord chancellor of Ireland, the vice-deputy renounced allegiance to the king of England, amidst the unbounded applause of his tumultuous Irish retainers.

[29.] General confusion now ensued within the walls of Dublin. John Alan, Archbishop of Dublin, with many loyalists, took refuge in the Castle, which was prepared for a vigorous resistance by its governor, John White. Whilst the archbishop endeavoured to effect his escape to England, a ship in which he sailed was stranded at Clontarf. Falling into the hands of his enemies, near Artane, this prelate was inhumanly massacred by the followers of "Silken Thomas," on the 28th of July. [30.] Leaving some of his forces to besiege the Castle, Lord Offaly hastened with the main body to ravage the estates of Earl Ossory. [31.] Whilst vainly endeavouring to engage his cousin James Butler in this rash enterprise, the citizens of Dublin had closed their gates on the besiegers, and nearly all of the latter, found within their walls, were arrested as traitors. [32.] Lord Thomas was repulsed in two or three assaults made upon the city. Assisted by the O'Carrolls, O'Mores and O'Conors of Offaly, this young nobleman however overran Meath and Fingal. Owing to the changes of political and religious relations in England with the Roman See and the emperor Charles V., he hoped to obtain assistance from these latter powers, but his expectations were disappointed. He also failed to induce the



more powerful Irish chiefs to declare for him against the government. [83.] When the news of this rebellion reached Henry, Sir William Skeffington was appointed lord justice and despatched with a fleet to Dublin. Because of illness, however, many months were wasted through lassitude and inaction after his arrival.

[84.] About the middle of March, 1585, Skeffington set out from Dublin to besiege the Geraldines' stronghold of Maynooth, which after a resistance of nine days was taken by assault. Many captives were afterwards executed as traitors. Lord Thomas was absent in Connaught at this time, and whilst hastening to relieve the besieged garrison with such forces as he had collected in the western province, mainly through the influence of his kinsman O'Connor, intelligence of this reverse was brought to him. [85.] That account greatly dispirited his followers, many of whom deserted, when Lord Thomas was obliged with a small retinue to take precarious refuge amongst the O'Briens of Thomond. Many of the Ulster chieftains were opposed to the young nobleman; whilst the Earl of Ossory and his son Lord James Butler continued to alienate several of the other Irish chieftains from espousing his cause.

[86.] Meantime, it was deemed advisable to send Lord Leonard Gray as commander of the forces to Ireland. He landed on the 28th of July, and commenced vigorous operations to suppress the rebellion. [87.] Having made overtures to the insurgent Geraldine, with a promise that his life

would be spared, Lord Thomas was induced to surrender ; but, on being conducted to London by Lord Gray, in virtue of a royal mandate, he was arrested and committed to the Tower. Here this chivalrous young noble was left during the winter, barefooted and barelegged, and depending on the charity of his fellow-prisoners, for a few tattered garments to shelter him from the cold. Gray, who had been appointed lord deputy on the death of Skeffington, received orders from the king to arrest the five uncles of this captive chieftain.. Deceived by promises of pardon, they readily surrendered to their lord deputy ; but having been attainted by the Irish parliament, they were next conveyed to London. On the 8rd of February, 1587, these noblemen were executed at Tyburn, together with their youthful nephew, who had so unwisely trusted the clemency of an unprincipled and faithless tyrant.

[38.] The great disturbing religious Reformation of the sixteenth century had extended its revolutionary progress from the Continent to England, where the licentiousness and cupidity of Henry VIII. urged him onwards to a succession of the most profligate crimes and to the most odious political and doctrinal despotism. An attempt was now made to introduce the usurpation of this tyrant's spiritual supremacy against the papal authority, amongst the bishops and clergy of Ireland. [39.] George Browne, an Augustinian apostate friar, was selected to succeed the murdered Alan, as archbishop of Dublin. Through

the influence of Cranmer, he had been appointed one of the principal members of a commission for bringing over the people of this island to acknowledge Henry's monstrous pretensions. [40.] In this attempt, however, he was effectively opposed by the archbishop of Armagh, Cromer, who fulminated a sentence of excommunication against all persons assenting to the reformed faith. This prelate was remarkable for his gravity, learning and popular manners ; so that he exercised deserved influence over the bishops and clergy, subject to his jurisdiction or direction.

[41.] In the year 1536, a parliament had been convened in the city of Dublin. Amongst the first measures introduced was an act to establish the king's supremacy. On penalty of *præmunire*—which placed the offender without the protection of law, his goods subject to confiscation, and himself liable to imprisonment during the sovereign's pleasure—it was proposed, that there should be no appeals to Rome, that the clergy must pay first-fruits to the king, and not to the pope, and that the authority of the Roman bishop should neither be defended nor asserted. Another act decreed, that the king, his heirs and successors for ever, should receive a twentieth part of the annual profits, accruing from all ecclesiastical promotions.

[42.] A class of men called spiritual proctors—formerly summoned to parliament, but only as counsellors or assistants, without permission to vote—had for some time assumed a privilege of

suffrage like recognized members. The proctors, sustained by Patrick Barnwell, king's sergeant, with the Catholic bishops and abbots, strenuously opposed these enactments. At a later period, proctors were declared by statute to constitute no portion of the parliamentary representatives. [43.] In the month of October, 1537, the king obtained a grant of the twentieth part of all church revenues, whilst a measure for the suppression of certain monasteries and religious houses passed the Lords and Commons. All officials were required to take the oath of supremacy, and those who refused were pronounced guilty of high treason.

[44.] The newly appointed titular archbishop of Dublin complained that the Irish people could not be induced to accommodate themselves to this new order of things, and that his own life was in danger from their hostility. In character and disposition, the reforming archbishop was not calculated to secure either respect or popularity from professors of that religion he had deserted nor from partisans of that creed he had espoused. Arrogant and vain, he is accused by a brother reformer, Staples, bishop of Meath, with domineering over the clergy, whilst selfishness and avarice were undoubted blemishes in his character. [45.] Between himself and the lord deputy frequent differences occurred; probably owing to a divergence of opinion and policy, in reference to religious matters. Lord Leonard Gray, with nearly all the officials of government, were attached to the an-

cient faith. [46.] Although Browne inflicted the punishment of imprisonment in a few instances ; yet his persecuting tendencies appear to have been counteracted by the rank and influence of high official recusants. Little progress was made in the work of proselytism, amongst the commonalty, not even within the pale ; whilst the semi-independent chiefs and septs of Irish and English descent, without its jurisdiction, were very seldom concerned about those affairs of state, which appeared to have no immediate reference towards the affecting of their own social, political or religious condition.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. Did any change of governors take place in Ireland, after Henry VIII.'s accession.
2. What were the exploits of Kildare?
3. What occurred in 1512?
4. What appears to have been the intention of James IV. of Scotland?
5. Where and when did Kildare die?
6. Who succeeded him?
7. What happened afterwards?
8. Who was appointed to the lord lieutenancy?
9. How did he conduct the government?
10. What led to his recall?
11. Were any dangers apprehended at this time by the Irish privy council?
12. What took place among the native chiefs of Ulster?
13. How did Kildare proceed on returning to Ireland?
14. What occurred in Connaught?
15. What new danger threatened English interests?
16. What instructions were sent to the lord deputy?
17. Who succeeded on Kildare's summons to England?
18. What caused Lord Delvin's capture?

19. Against whom were suspicions directed in consequence of this act?
20. Did any foreign intrigue occur?
21. How did King Henry VIII. treat Kildare?
22. What operations were carried on in Ireland by Kildare and Skeffington?
23. What was the issue?
24. What combination ensured Kildare's downfall?
25. When Kildare obeyed the king's summons, how was he treated in England?
26. Describe the condition of Ireland at this time.
27. What caused the revolt of Silken Thomas?
28. How did he commence this rebellion?
29. What took place in and near Dublin?
30. What enterprize next engaged the young lord's attention?
31. During his absence from Dublin did his cause sustain any reverse?
32. What measures did he now take?
33. Who was sent from England to oppose him?
34. What next happened?
35. After the loss of Maynooth whither did Lord Thomas retreat for refuge?
36. Who next appeared in Ireland?
37. What was the issue of Lord Thomas' insurrection?
38. Narrate the progress of the Reformation?
39. Who was the principal instrument of its introduction to this island?
40. By whom was Browne opposed?
41. What despotic measures were proposed in 1536?
42. How were they met in parliament?
43. State the result.
44. How did Archbishop Browne conduct himself?
45. What state of relations existed between him and Lord Leonard Gray?
46. Did the reforming prelate make any considerable progress in his sectarian propagandism?

## LESSON XX.

Broils in Ulster and Connaught—The O'Conors of Offaley—The young Geraldines—Irish intrigues with foreign powers—Sir Anthony St. Leger—A parliament held in Dublin—Submission of Irish chieftains and their reception of English titles—Disturbances occasioned by the Geraldines, O'Mores of Leix and O'Conors of Offaley.\*

[1.] WITHOUT the English pale, family dissensions prevailed at this period, especially in the province of Connaught. A persistent series of inroads made by O'Donnell seems to have terminated without his obtaining any great advantage over his rivals the O'Conors. [2.] Internal quarrels amongst the O'Donnells also took place in Ulster. The death of the celebrated chieftain of Tyrconnell, Hugh, is recorded as having occurred on the 5th of July, 1537. He is greatly eulogized by the Four Masters, for his bravery, puissance and piety. We are told, that he did not suffer the English power to come into his territory; yet, finding that Irishmen would not acknowledge the supremacy of any one amongst themselves, since friends and blood relations contended against each other, he deemed it prudent to form a league of peace and friendship with the king of England. Manus

\* The works useful for consultation are, *Inquisitionum Cancellariæ Hiberniæ Repertorium*. Vol. I.—*Lagenia*. Vol. II.—*Ultonia*. The *Inquisitions for Munster and Connaught*, not yet (1863) published are to be found amongst the records of our Irish Law Courts. Also, the Irish Record Commission publications in three volumes folio, published A.D. 1810—1825, may be consulted.

O'Donnell was inaugurated in his place by an election of the nobles of Tyrconnell, both lay and clerical.

[3.] Meantime, Lord Leonard Gray headed an expedition to Munster, where he succeeded in taking the castle of Carrigogonnell by assault. The deputy was also successful in expelling Brian O'Connor from the territory of Offaley, having demolished his castles; and to this course, it is said he was instigated, through the machinations of Brian's own brother, Cathal Roe. [4.] It was proposed by the Irish council, to create this latter chief, Baron Offaley, and to allow him possession of that territory, according to English law and tenure, so that the Irish might hate him, and that he should in consequence look to the king's subjects for future protection. [5.] This wily policy was however defeated; for Brian O'Connor again obtained dominion over his inheritance, and Cathal, disregarding his late compact, declared himself the king's enemy and made common cause with his brother. Lord Leonard Gray tried several fruitless expedients to chastise these confederates; but he only succeeded in bringing O'Connor a parley and delusive submission.

[6.] Notwithstanding the wholesale extermination of Geraldine nobles, after the rebellion of Silken Thomas, yet, two sons of the late Earl Gerald, by Lady Elizabeth Gray, escaped. The elder of them—a youth about twelve or thirteen years—named Gerald, found concealment in Thonmond, and afterwards lived with his aunt Lady



Elenor, widow of MacCarthy Reagh, chief of Carbury; the younger son, Edward, a mere infant, had been secretly conveyed to his mother, the Countess of Kildare, who lived a retired life in England. Proposals of marriage to Lady Elenor having been made by Manus O'Donnell, and accepted by her, she journeyed to the north, accompanied by her young son, MacCarthy Reagh, and by her nephew, the youthful heir to Geraldine honours. [7.] This marriage afterwards took place; whilst O'Donnell and O'Neill agreed to sink their mutual differences and support the rights of young Gerald. A league was also formed with O'Connor of Connaught, and envoys were despatched to engage the alliance of the Scottish king. [8.] From Irish accounts, it is difficult to understand, what actual steps were taken to forward the interests of Kildare; but, in 1539, an army was led by Manus O'Donnell and Con O'Neill into Meath, where they spoiled all English possessions, until opposed by the lord justice, who dispersed their tumultuary bands at Belahoe, on the boundary line between the counties of Meath and Monaghan.

[9.] About this period, it is recorded in our native annals, that the religious orders were persecuted and banished, wherever the English extended their power throughout Ireland. Many monasteries were desolated and their valuables sold; whilst, in several instances, sacred images and objects were profaned and destroyed. Even the religious inmates did not escape massacre, in

some cases. [10.] These proceedings served to exasperate our native chiefs, and formed the most potent inducements in urging them to combine for national and religious objects, which were however hardly shaped to any definite purpose. From some ascertained negotiations opened with the Emperor Charles V., the kings of France, Scotland, and the Holy See, and from combinations amongst the O'Neills, O'Donnells, O'Brians, the Earl of Desmond, with other chiefs, it is evident, a dangerous league and conspiracy against the king's authority was apprehended in England. The lord justice made energetic efforts to execute the commission entrusted to him, by organizing expeditions to confront this threatened alliance.

[11.] In the year 1540, Lord Gray was summoned to England, and his place was filled by Sir William Brereton. The official enemies of that nobleman in Ireland followed him to court, and preferred various charges against him; amongst other accusations, it was stated, that he had secretly aided and openly favoured the Geraldines, their partisans, and various Irish chiefs, hostile to English interests, whilst he allowed young Gerald to escape from Ireland to France on his way to Rome. Lord Leonard Gray fell a victim to traitorous suspicions and accusations, having been executed on Tower Hill, A.D. 1541. [12.] Whilst the usual course of dynastic differences proceeded amongst the native chiefs, Brereton signalized his short term, by assembling a large force to cope with the northern septs, who did not appear in

Westmeath, as it was rumoured they intended. He, nevertheless, concluded to perform some exploit, and having invaded Offaley, Brereton devastated the houses and castles of O'Connor, and destroyed the corn belonging to his people.

[13.] The escape of young Gerald of Kildare from Ireland seems to have dissolved the weak bond of adhesion, amongst our native chieftains, for purposes of mutual defence or aggression.

[14.] Accordingly, when Sir Anthony St. Leger was sent over as Irish deputy, in August, 1540, the O'Neills and O'Donnells hastened to tender their submission to the crown. Such potent example was generally followed by the petty chiefs of Leinster. The Earl of Desmond also consented to submit, having arranged with the Earl of Ormonde for an intermarriage between their children, to settle the claims of these two great rival families. [15.] Afterwards, an attempt was made to bring O'Brian of Thomond to terms, in a conference held at Limerick; but this chieftain declared, that he should first consult his kinsmen and retainers, before he could undertake to enter on any such important business.

[16.] In the month of June, 1541, a parliament was convened at Dublin; and to this assemblage, several native chiefs were summoned to assume their places with barons of English descent. The Earl of Ormonde undertook the office of interpreting to them in Irish the meaning of various speeches delivered. [17.] During this sitting, an Act was passed, which conferred the

title, King of Ireland, on Henry VIII. and on his rightful successors. Since the time of John, the English kings had hitherto borne only as a designation, Lord of Ireland. Great pomp and rejoicing followed in the city of Dublin, which, we may be sure, were promoted by the politic St. Leger, who appears to have comprehended to its fullest extent the importance of these measures.

[18.] Various petty skirmishes are recorded as having occurred in Ulster and Connaught, after this juncture. [19.] It would seem, that blandishments and influence of the lord deputy had been exercised with some effect, amongst the most powerful Irish chieftains, who desired peace with and submission to the English king. Having surrendered their territories and renounced their dynastic patronymics, their estates were restored and new titles were conferred on them by letters patent. [20.] Thus, Murrough O'Brian became Earl of Thomond, and MacGiolla Patrick, Baron of Upper Ossory; De Burgo or MacWilliam was created Earl of Clanrickard, O'Neill was called Earl of Tyrone, and some of the lesser chiefs received subordinate titles. As an addition to this national humiliation, it is also said, that their acceptance of royal favours was accompanied by an admission of the king's spiritual supremacy. [21.] The results of St. Leger's policy were remarkably displayed in the readiness with which Irish recruits were raised to wage war against their new sovereign's enemies, who were formerly their old allies, in France and Scotland. [22.]

In 1545, a dispute, said to have been instigated by the intriguing Chancellor Allen, having arisen between St. Leger and the Earl of Ormonde, both of these principals repaired to England, having sworn that only one or other of them should return to Ireland. Ormonde and sixteen of his servants were poisoned at a feast in Ely House, London—whether by accident or design, we are not informed. The lord justice returned to renew his active and prudential measures for the pacification of Ireland.

[23.] Towards the close of Henry's reign, apprehensions were entertained, that young Earl Gerald, who had escaped to France, was meditating an invasion of this island; although much uncertainty prevailed in the English and Irish councils, as to the exact maritime locality threatened. [24.] The partisans of his family caused some disturbances, near the borders of the pale, having burned and plundered Ballymore Eustace, on the river Liffey, Rathvilly, on the river Slaney, and Rathangan, in the county of Kildare. The O'Mores and O'Conors Faly also joined in this insurrection. Lord Deputy St. Leger was foiled in his first effort to reduce them to submission. Athy, with its monastery, was burned by the insurgents, and many English and Irish fell on this occasion. [25.] Afterwards, St. Leger conducted a force into Leix and Offaley, where churches, monasteries, crops, and corn were plundered or destroyed, whilst the hereditary chiefs were proclaimed traitors. The expulsion of O'Connor Faly

to Connaught followed ; and after an ineffectual opposition from some predatory bands, the authority of government was successfully vindicated and established.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What occurred outside of the English pale ?
2. What happened in Ulster ?
3. How did Lord Leonard Gray proceed ?
4. What proposition emanated from the privy council ?
5. Was it attended with success ?
6. Who were the Geraldine heirs, and how were they protected ?
7. By whom was young Gerald befriended ?
8. How did the northern chiefs act ?
9. What attempts were now made against the ancient religion ?
10. What resulted ?
11. What was the fate of Lord Leonard Gray ?
12. How did Sir William Brereton distinguish himself ?
13. What effects did young Gerald's escape produce ?
14. How did the Irish chiefs act after St. Leger's appointment ?
15. What is related of O'Brian in Thomond ?
16. What remarkable convocation was arranged in Dublin ?
17. How did this parliament legislate ?
18. Was tranquillity disturbed in certain parts of Ireland ?
19. What did the lord deputy succeed in achieving ?
20. What great social changes took place ?
21. How were they manifested ?
22. What quarrel arose between the lord deputy and the Earl of Ormonde ?
23. What suspicions were awakened about this time ?
24. Did any overt acts of insubordination occur ?
25. How did they end ?

## LESSON XXI.

Submission of O'More, O'Connor and the Fitzgeralds—Proceedings in Ulster—Introduction of the Reformed Liturgy—Restoration of the Catholic Religion under Queen Mary—The O'Briens of Thomond—Subjugation of Leix and Offaly—Shane O'Neill defeated by Calvagh O'Donnell—The Scots in Ulster.\*

[1.] AN unsuccessful expedition, with forces collected from the western province by Gillapattrick O'More and Brian O'Connor, ended in the unconditional surrender of these chieftains to Francis Brian, in 1547. The Fitzgeralds and their partizans were defeated near Blessington, in the county of Wicklow, by the English and Brian O'Toole: thirteen of those captured were soon afterwards executed in Dublin. Such were the principal Irish events that characterized the first year of the sixth Edward's accession.

[2.] St. Leger having been recalled, in 1548, brought the two chiefs of Leix and Offaly with him to England. Here they were imprisoned. A pension of £100 was allowed for the maintenance of each, whilst their territories were parcelled out for Brian and other adventurers. O'More died this year in exile. Garrisons were

\* Authorities for Irish History of this period: M'Mahon's *Jus Primatiale Armacanum*; Talbot's *De Primatu Dubliniensis Archiepiscopatus*; Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*. Amongst the MSS. of Sterne in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, are Sir William Darcy's *Decay of Ireland, and the causes of it*, with Sir Thomas Cusack's *Epistle to the Duke of Northumberland concerning the State of Ireland*, A.D. 1552.

planted at Maryborough and Philipstown, whilst the whole district of Leix and Offaly was reduced to submission. [3.] Sir Edward Bellingham succeeded St. Leger, and actively proceeded against the native Irish. O'Carroll of Ely burned the town of Nenagh and banished the Saxons from that part of the country. [4.] William Brabazon took the place of Bellingham in 1549, and held a court at Limerick, whither O'Carroll repaired, and having obtained terms of peace for himself and his Irish confederates, this chieftain returned home unmolested. Having surrendered his territories to the king, he obtained a grant of them by letters patent, with the title Baron of Ely. Some Irish chieftains acted in like manner, and often invoked the aid of government to arbitrate on their mutual differences. The inferior chiefs were usually made independent of their superior dynasts, whose power was thus weakened for the purpose of establishing a supremacy in behalf of English interests.

[5.] In 1550, Brian occupied the post of lord justice, for the short term of two months. He then died and was replaced by St. Leger. Archbishop Brown of Dublin contrived to have the latter removed, and Sir James Crofts succeeded. [6.] This deputy led an army into Ulster, in 1551, to dispossess the Hebrides Scots, who were leagued with some of the native chiefs; but in two different attempts, he was repulsed, with very considerable loss. After the lord deputy's arrival, a great court was held at Dublin. [7.] Con O'Neill,



Earl of Tyrone, was seized and imprisoned by the lord justice in consequence of complaints and accusations preferred through his illegitimate son, Ferdoragh, Baron of Dungannon. This latter natural child had been selected to succeed his father in title and possessions; but, when the earl grew old and infirm, he desired that his eldest legitimate son, Shane, might become heir. The young sons of O'Neill hereupon waged war against Ferdoragh and the English. [8.] About the same time, France and England became embroiled; and emissaries, between the French and Irish, continued to arrange preliminaries for an effective invasion of this island. It is indeed strange, and the undoubted mistake of our governors, that after the lapse of over 800 years, political foresight enables all persons of sound judgment to discover, that the anomalous condition of Ireland yet presents facilities to our Gallic neighbours for dealing the most effective and vulnerable stroke against the English empire on Irish soil. On this occasion, the O'Neills and O'Donnells pledged an oath of fealty in the name of their brother chiefs, to place this country under protection of the French monarch. However, a peace between England and France soon afterwards ensued, when these negotiations ceased to excite much interest or expectation amongst the Irish.

[9.] Whilst the old Earl of Tyrone remained in prison, his son, Shane, and Hugh O'Neill of Clana-  
boy, gave much annoyance to the English. The lord justice proceeded towards Ulster against Hugh

O'Neill and the Scots. At Belfast, the English were defeated, in 1552; but the Baron of Dunganon, having raised a large army, hastened to assist them. Shane O'Neill made a night attack on the camp of Ferdoragh, and slew a great number of his forces. In a subsequent campaign, the lord justice destroyed many corn-fields during autumn, but lost several of his followers. He retired from Ulster, without obtaining any solid advantages.

[10.] In the reign of Edward VI., the Reformed Liturgy, confirmed by act of parliament, was introduced into Ireland. But whilst Brown, the dignitary occupying the see of Dublin, pronounced strongly in favour of new doctrines, Dowdal, archbishop of Armagh, offered most strenuous opposition to their reception. Against the latter pious, zealous and learned prelate, Staples, the Protestant bishop of Meath, undertook to impugn tenets of the old faith, in a great hall, belonging to St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin. This controversy terminated without any important results, upon the public conscience or convictions. The Irish people appear to have inclined unalterably to the traditions and religion of past generations. [11.] However, the strong arm of power interposed by enactment to remove the title and prerogatives, attaching to the primate of all Ireland, from Dowdal; whilst to Brown and his successors, in the see of Dublin, were transferred the emoluments and honours of the newly constituted Irish primacy. Dowdal, forced to fly for refuge beyond

the seas, was succeeded at Armagh by one Hugh Goodacre, a Protestant. [12.] Various individuals became enriched by the plunder and confiscation of church lands, chattels and property ; whilst even the sacred vessels and ornaments were pillaged from religious shrines and establishments, where they had long enjoyed immunity. Acts of rapine and the powerful inducements of self-interest had no small influence in drawing over proselytes to the state religion.

[13.] But when Queen Mary obtained possession of the English throne, in 1558, she found little difficulty, whilst effecting the complete restoration of Catholic faith in Ireland. It was deemed expedient to leave church property, as in England, with the families of those, who had unjustly acquired possession ; even this politic arrangement obtained the sanction of his Holiness, the Pope. Mary's Irish parliament expressed regret for the apostacy to which it had lent a sort of public sanction. Archbishop Dowdal, being restored to the primacy, convened a synod at Drogheda, in which married bishops and priests were deprived by statutes of their benefices and emoluments.

[14.] However, during the whole of Mary's reign, no persecution on account of religion was known in this country ; whilst some English Protestant families, that fled from their own localities experienced toleration for their peculiar doctrinal profession in our island.

[15.] Donough O'Brien, who had obtained the title, Earl of Thomond, was attacked by his bro-

thers, Donnell and Turlough, in 1553. On the death of Donough, Donnell claimed the right of succession, by the Irish law of tanistry. Amidst the acclaim of his people, Donnell assumed his title of The O'Brian, and subsequently led a hosting as far as Maryborough, whence, after holding a conference with the English, he parted from them in peace. This chieftain also asserted his supremacy over O'Carroll and the Earl of Clanrickard. [16.] Margaret, the daughter of O'Conor Faly, relying on the number and influence of her relations and friends in England, went thither, and preferred her request to Queen Mary, for the liberation of a captive father. Having delivered hostages to the lord justice and council, in his stead, the old chieftain was permitted to return with his daughter to Ireland. About the same time, Garrett Oge and Edward, sons of the Earl of Kildare, after a lengthened continental exile, obtained from the queen a restoration of their patrimonial inheritances and titles. James Butler, son to the Earl of Ossory, and the heir of MacGillapatrik accompanied them. Popular feeling and acclaim were strongly manifested, on the return of these distinguished scions of noble families, with the full enjoyment of their estates and honours.

[17.] A few unimportant feuds, in the south and north of Ireland, are recorded, under the date of 1554. In the following year, Thomas Radcliff, afterwards Earl of Sussex, was sent to Ireland as lord justice; Anthony St. Leger having been superseded, through the intrigues of his

enemies. [18.] The first act of this newly appointed governor was to lead an army into the north, at the instance of Con O'Neill. After an ineffectual campaign of three months' duration, against the sons of MacDonnell and the Scots, the lord justice was obliged to return, without compelling his adversaries to submit or deliver hostages. A like futile attempt was made upon Munster, which terminated with a treaty between O'Brien and the lord justice. [19.] Calvagh O'Donnell, having procured some Scottish auxiliaries, ravaged the territory of Tyrconnell, and made his father, Manus, a prisoner. This aged chief remained in close confinement, to the period of his death.

[20.] In 1556, Connell Oge O'More and Donough O'Connor Faly were taken prisoners by the lord justice; but they were afterwards set at liberty, on account of their guarantees, the Earls of Kildare and Ormond. [21.] When the old settlers of Leix and Offaly had been reduced to a state of submission, it was deemed expedient to have these tracts, with some conterminous districts, converted into shire-ground and annexed to the English pale. Leix, with a portion of Ossory and Offaly, constituted the Queen's county, and its old fort Campa was called Maryborough, in honour of the reigning sovereign; whilst the chief portions of ancient Offaly, and some additional lands, were formed into the King's county—the fortress of Daingean receiving the name of Philipstown, as a compliment to the

prince consort, Philip of Spain. Power was also conferred on the lord justice to introduce new colonists, who might keep the natives in complete subjection. [22.] The year succeeding Offaly was ravaged, the O'Conors banished from it, and their hostages were put to death by the English. Connell O'More was also captured and executed at Leighlin; whilst Donnell O'More, lord of Sliabh Mairge, in the Queen's county, was hanged. The lord justice even led an army against the fugitive O'Conors Faly, who had escaped across the Shannon, into the territories of O'Madden. This governor afterwards devastated the territory of Ely, and then having appointed Sir Henry Sydney, the treasurer, to take his place, the lord justice went over to England. Scenes of plunder, burning, slaughter and desolation ensued. The O'Conors Faly, O'Mores, O'Molloys and O'Carrolls were sorely oppressed, and their districts entirely devastated.

[23.] In the north, Shane O'Neill mustered a large army of English, Scots and Irish, when he made an inroad upon the territory of Calvagh O'Donnell. [24.] Having pitched his camp at Carricklea, between the rivers Finn and Mourne, in the county of Tyrone, he was joined by Hugh O'Donnell, brother to Calvagh, and many of the Tyrconnellians, disaffected to the rule of their chieftain. O'Neill declared his intention of subjecting all Ulster to his authority; and with his large hosting feeling confident of success, he advanced by Raphoe, towards Ballcaghan, situated

on an arm of Lough Swilly, in the county of Donegal. [25.] Calvagh consulted his incarcerated father, Manus, in this emergency, and guided mainly by his sage advice, he sent spies into the enemies' camp, with a view of surprising them in a night attack. These spies reported on their return, that O'Neill's tent, before which a large watchfire and an immense torch blazed, was guarded by sixty warlike gallowglasses, bearing battle-axes, and as many brave Scots, armed with broadswords. No sooner had Calvagh received this intelligence, than joining his two battalions into one body, he pushed on to the central station of O'Neill, when by a sudden and valiant onset he slaughtered these guards and threw the whole army of Tyrone into confusion. [26.] The bewildered chieftain fled from his camp, under cover of night, and in the midst of heavy rain and favoured by darkness, swam over three swollen rivers, with only two of his companions. Having escaped to Tyrone, he purchased a horse that night, and arrived by break of day at Errigal-Keeroge, in the present barony of Clogher. Calvagh and his soldiers occupied the deserted camp of O'Neill, with all its spoils, and remained until morning drinking wines left behind them by the defeated forces.

[27.] The lord justice, Thomas Radcliffe, deposed Donnell O'Brian, chief of Thomond, in 1558, and elevated the nephew, Conor, to that inheritance, with the title of Earl. This deposition produced the greatest alarm amongst other

ancient proprietors in Ireland, who naturally apprehended a like doom, when the power and interests of a foreign domination required their utter extinction or expatriation. The illegitimate Ferdoragh, Baron of Dungannon, was treacherously murdered this year by the people of his brother Shane, who claimed his title of O'Neill, through the law of tanistry and by popular election. [28.] A body of Scots penetrated into the northern districts of Connaught, but were met on the banks of the river Moy, by the Earl of Clanrickard. Here a fierce contest took place, in which the Scots and their valiant leaders were slain. [29.] Frequent incursions of these people, on the northern coasts of Ireland, caused grave anxiety to the English government, and severe measures were adopted to prevent their immigration. It was declared high treason to invite them over or encourage their settlement, in this country; and unless the lord deputy's previous consent had been procured, it was deemed a felony for native women to intermarry with them. As mercenaries they figure conspicuously in the wars of this period; and especially amongst the powerful native septs, that yet held sway over the wide extent of the Ulster province, their valour was thoroughly appreciated and their military services duly rewarded.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What happened during the first year of Edward IV.'s reign?
2. What occurred the year succeeding?
3. How did Sir Edward Bellingham act?



4. What followed in 1549 ?
5. What change of governors afterwards took place ?
6. How did Sir James Crofts proceed ?
7. Did anything remarkable happen in Ulster ?
8. What negotiations were now entered upon between the French and the Irish ?
9. Were any expeditions undertaken against the northern chiefs ?
10. How did the Reformation proceed in Ireland ?
11. What happened to the Primate Dowdal ?
12. By what agencies was the law-established church planted in this country ?
13. What took place on the accession of Queen Mary ?
14. Were Irish Protestants molested during her reign ?
15. What happened amongst the O'Briens ?
16. Relate some acts of royal clemency towards the representatives of Irish families.
17. What happened in 1554 and 1555 ?
18. Was St. Leger successful in his Ulster and Munster enterprises ?
19. What act of Calvagh O'Donnell stands on record at this period ?
20. How were the chiefs of Leix and Offaly treated in 1556 ?
21. What disposition was made of their territories ?
22. Describe some of the scenes that ensued.
23. Did any remarkable event occur in Ulster ?
24. How did O'Neill act ?
25. What course of tactics did Calvagh O'Donnell oppose to this aggression ?
26. What was the result of O'Neill's enterprize ?
27. Was any procedure of the Lord Justice calculated to create a sensation amongst the native chiefs in 1558 ?
28. What happened the Ulster Scots in Connaught ?
29. What relations did they bear at this time towards the English and Irish ?

## LESSON XXII.

Queen Elizabeth's Irish legislation—Contests in Munster—Shane O'Neill and the Earl of Sussex—Conduct of Shane after his return to Ireland—The Earls of Desmond and Ormond—Wars of Shane O'Neill and Sir Henry Sidney—Assassination of the Tyrone Dynast.\*

[1.] THE 17th of November, 1558, Queen Mary died, and her sister Elizabeth took possession of the throne, on that same day. Amongst the first acts of this new sovereign, was an attempt to follow out in Ireland the efforts more successfully made to plant Reformed doctrines in England.

[2.] Elizabeth found the acting lord lieutenant, Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, and Sir Henry Sydney, the treasurer, pliant instruments in her

\* For the earlier period of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the reader is referred to Dr. Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland*; Rev. B. H. Blacker's *Brief Sketches of the Parishes of Booterstown and Donnybrook*; Daniel O'Connell's *Memoir of Ireland, Native and Saxon*; Simpson's *Annals of Derry*; Camden's *Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum Annales regnante Elizabetha*; Journals of the English Houses of Lords and Commons, from Edward VI. to later dates; Statutes of the Realm, to the end of Queen Anne's reign, 11 vols. fol.; English, Irish, and Scottish *Calendar of State Papers*; Morrin's *Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland*; Thomas' Historical Notes, 1509 to 1714; the several volumes of Reports, Records, and the *State Papers published under the authority of His Majesty's Commission*, commencing with the reign of Henry VIII.; Thomas' *Hand Book to the Public Records*.

hands; for in a parliament, which assembled at Dublin, in the commencement of 1560, the former enactments of Queen Mary's representatives were entirely reversed. Seventy-six members were returned, writs having been issued for the counties of Dublin, Louth, Kildare, Meath, Westmeath, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford and Tipperary, and for certain towns, where the royal authority was predominant. We may readily suppose, that the power and influence of the crown were unconstitutionally applied in order to convene a packed parliament, and that some vice-regal management had been exercised with effect. [8.] In a session lasting only for a few weeks, Elizabeth was proclaimed head of the Church, established by law; and all lay or ecclesiastical officials were required to take the oath of supremacy to her, under pain of forfeiture and total incapacity for public situations. The ecclesiastical system and liturgy of Edward VI.'s reign were restored, with certain modifications. Whoever maintained the Pope's spiritual supremacy was liable to forfeiture of his estates, real and personal, for the first offence, or if not worth £20, to be imprisoned for a year; the second delinquency rendered him subject to the penalty of premunire; and the third repetition of disobedience was to be regarded as high treason. Under heavy fines and censures all subjects were obliged to attend this newly legalized worship; the first fruits and twentieths of church revenue reverted to the royal coffers; whilst instead of the writ, known as,

*congé d'elire*,\* the crown usurped a right of collating to all vacant sees by letters patent. Under a penalty of *premunire*, prelates were coerced to consecrate the court favourite, within a period of twenty days from the date of selection. These important changes were carried, but only after considerable discussion and protest.

[4.] Meantime the Earls of Thomond and Clanrickard had made an unsuccessful effort to oppose the invading Earl of Desmond and Teige O'Brien, near Ennis, in the county of Clare. The confederate earls were totally defeated, with a loss of many brave chiefs and common soldiers. O'Carroll perpetrated certain devastations in the northern parts of Tipperary. [5.] In Ulster, Calvagh O'Donnell and his wife were surprised and taken prisoners, by Shane O'Neill, in the monastery of Killodonnell, near Lough Swilly, county of Donegal. The chief of Tyrconnell was detained in close confinement, and his wife was dishonoured by the ruler of Tyrone. O'Neill was known to have entertained a deep-rooted enmity towards the English, whose policy was directed against his dynastic sway, by conferring favours and titles on subordinate chieftains. The Earls of Desmond and Ormond met near the town of Tipperary to decide their differences by the gage of conflict, but they afterwards separated without coming to blows. MacCarthy Reagh defeated the people of Desmond in an obstinate skirmish, fought on the banks of

\* Royal permission conferred on an ecclesiastical corporation to elect a bishop, prior or abbot.

Bandon river, county of Cork. Teige O'Brien was captured at Limerick and conveyed a prisoner to Dublin, by order of the lord justice; his capture was attributed to the instrumentality of his relative, the Earl of Thomond.

[6.] In 1561, the Earl of Sussex proceeded to Tyrone, and erected strong fortifications around the great church of Armagh. One of the objects held in view, by this lord justice, was the liberation of Calvagh O'Donnell from captivity; but Shane O'Neill took precautions to prevent his succeeding in that attempt. [7.] With a force of 1,000 men, Sussex ravaged Oriel; but his troops were surprised and defeated by O'Neill, whilst their spoils reverted to the rightful owners. This brave chieftain of Tyrone followed up his advantages by wasting Meath and the northern parts of Dublin county. He also subjugated the district of Tyrconnell, and assumed the sovereign command of all Ulster from Drogheda to the Erne. [8.] Having allowed the Kinel-Connell to ransom their dynast, Calvagh O'Donnell, at this chief's instigation, the lord justice once more advanced on Tyrone, during the autumn. Sussex was accompanied on this expedition by the Earls of Kildare, Ormond, Desmond, Thomond and Clanrickard.

[9.] Shane, on their approach, withdrew to the interior fastnesses of his country. To rid himself of this wily and able adversary, Sussex hired an assassin, with the concurrence of his royal mistress, and basely resolved on the treacherous murder of O'Neill. This foul project however failed from

some unexplained cause ; and the Earl of Kildare's influence was next employed to induce the Tyrone dynast to appear before Elizabeth with proffers of submission. [10.] Having marched northwards to Lough Foyle, the lord justice made peace with O'Neill, and withdrew the English garrison from Armagh. Calvagh O'Donnell's authority was restored in Tyrconnell and Sligo, before the Earl of Sussex retired. [11.] O'Neill went over to England, towards the close of this year, and made obeisance to the queen, by whom he was received with great honour and respect. The strange costume and appearance of his guards excited the curiosity and wonder of Elizabeth's courtiers and the citizens of London.

[12.] O'Neill returned to Ireland in the May of 1562, with the recognized title of his family. However, he found an opponent in Turlough Luineach O'Neill, who claimed the chieftainry as grand-nephew of Con Bacagh O'Neill, first Earl of Tyrone. Domestic feuds broke out amongst the O'Briens of Thomond, which ended in reprisals and bloodshed. Certain articles were entered into, and dated at Benburb, November 18th, 1563, whereby Shane O'Neill, in consideration of his loyalty and engagement to serve the queen in her wars, was constituted captain or governor of Tyrone. We soon after find him engaged in establishing order and tranquillity, throughout his territory ; although it would seem his motives and course of action were suspected, by the English government. Having warred with the Scotch

settlers in Clannaboy, Shane refused to surrender his prisoners to the lord justice, between himself and whom, previous enmity had for some time existed. The Earl of Sussex having been recalled, Sir Henry Sidney landed at Dalkey, and afterwards filled his place, in the month of January, 1566.

[13.] Directing our attention to the province of Munster, the noble Earls of Desmond and Ormond were divided by opposing views and interests. The former adhered to Irish customs and the ancient faith : the latter had embraced the new creed and supported the behests of ruling powers. A battle fought between them at Affane, in Waterford county, terminated with a defeat and capture of the wounded Desmond. Whilst borne from the field, it is said, his captors tauntingly demanded, "Where now is the proud Earl of Desmond?" "Where he ought to be," rejoined the haughty Geraldine, "upon the necks of the Butlers!"

[14.] Shane O'Neill had earned the enmity of some powerful neighbouring chiefs, by his aggressions and imprudent violence. [15.] The newly appointed viceroy, for state reasons, sought to foster this spirit of resistance. Still it was deemed prudent to make some overtures, before appealing to the arbitration of open hostilities ; but O'Neill told the commissioners, dispatched to him, that as he inherited Ulster from his ancestors, who won it by the sword, so he was determined to keep it with the same weapon. [16.] This chief-

tain levied a considerable force, and proceeded towards Dundalk, which was garrisoned by the English. Sydney advanced to meet him, and after some ineffective skirmishing, the lord justice returned to Dublin. The English pale was next invaded by Shane; but he experienced repulses in his assaults on the English garrison of Dundalk, and on one recently planted in Derry, at the request of Calvagh O'Donnell. Sydney led a large army, through Tyrone, Tyrconnell and Connaught to the pale. But the great northern dynast retired on this approach, and thus foiled the principal object of his expedition.

The career of this valiant leader was now hastening to its close. [17.] Hugh O'Donnell succeeded his brother Calvagh, who died suddenly on the 26th of October, 1566; and no sooner had Hugh assumed the position of tanist than two different inroads were made by him into Tyrone, which he plundered and devastated. [18.] Hereupon, O'Neill deemed it necessary to punish the ruler of Tyrconnell by invading his territories; and for that purpose, Shane crossed the river Swilly, at low water, near Letterkenny. [19.] After some cavalry manœuvres, O'Donnell retired before the invading forces; but on receiving support from a small and resolute band, he made a fierce onset, and at length drove the Kinel-Owen back towards the river, now impassable owing to a returning tide. Confusion ensued amongst the defeated troops; numbers perished in the waves, and many were slain by the sword. Shane, how-



ever, contrived to effect his escape, by crossing at a higher ford on the river. With a loss of his bravest chiefs and men, variously estimated at from 1,300 to upwards of 3,000, his reason and senses became disordered. This crushing disaster occurred on the 8th of May, 1567. [20.]

O'Neill, on arriving in Tyrone, took a desperate resolution of inviting to his assistance the Scotch MacDonnells, with which tribe he had formerly been at war; and they responded to his invitation, by equipping a large fleet, which landed at Cushendun, in the county of Antrim. [21.]

Without taking the most obvious precautions for his own security, Shane placed himself within the power of those islanders, whom he hoped to engage in a renewed contest with the Kinel-Connell. But, in a drunken brawl, instigated for a treacherous purpose, as is believed, O'Neill, his secretary, and some of his guards, were basely murdered. This famous chieftain's body was wrapped in a kerne's yellow shirt and interred without a coffin; his head was cut off and sent to the lord deputy, who had it transfixed on a spike and placed on the highest tower of Dublin Castle. [22.] Although Shane O'Neill's character is not free from various great crimes, he possessed many noble and generous qualities of mind; whilst the general lamentation of his people, on receiving the account of his tragic fate, manifested their love, respect and grateful remembrance towards a brave champion, a just, politic ruler, as also an able defender of their fortunes, lives and liberties.

## QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What took place on the death of Mary ?
2. What were Elizabeth's first measures ?
3. How did her Irish parliament legislate ?
4. What happened in the south ?
5. What occurred in Ulster ?
6. Was any expedition undertaken by the viceroy in 1561 ?
7. State the result.
8. What adventures next engaged the attention of Sussex ?
9. How did O'Neill act ?
10. What followed ?
11. How was O'Neill received at the English court ?
12. What happened after his return to Ireland ?
13. What remarkable conflict took place in Munster about this time ?
14. What were Shane O'Neill's social and political relations with his brother chieftains ?
15. What policy did the newly-appointed viceroy, Sir Henry Sidney, adopt towards him ?
16. What contests occurred between those powerful rivals ?
17. How did Hugh O'Donnell inaugurate his chieftantry ?
18. Did O'Neill resent the incursions of his opponent ?
19. Describe the struggle which ensued.
20. How did Shane act after his defeat ?
21. Relate the manner of his death.
22. What estimate must be formed of his character ?

## LESSON XXIII.

The Lord Deputy's visitation of Munster and Connaught—Hostilities and disturbances—The Irish Parliament of 1569—Proceedings in the South and West—The Earl of Essex—Sir Henry Sidney's measures—English treachery and cruelty towards the native septs—Sir James Fitzmaurice's expedition—Opposed by the Earl of Desmond and the government—Its total failure and tragic end of Fitzmaurice.\*

[1.] IMMEDIATELY after this murder of Shane, Turlough Luineach assumed his title and dignity of The O'Neill. The lord justice made a visitation of Munster and Connaught, and in his reports to the queen he gave a fearful and revolting picture of the ruin and desolation everywhere prevailing. [2.] Proud, turbulent, impracticable nobles, the oppressors of a divided, famished, and degraded population, the common dictates of justice and mercy equally outraged, and a sense of

\* The printed works, which may be examined for this epoch of our history, are, Harris' *Ancient and Present State of the County Down*; Maclean's *Life and Times of Sir P. Carew*; Collins' *Memorials of the Sidney Family*; Gordon's *History of Ireland*; Burton's *History of the Kingdom of Ireland*; *The Kerry Magazine*; *Sidney State Papers and Despatches*; *Collection of Tracts and Treatises illustrative of the Natural History, Antiquities and the Political and Social State of Ireland*; *Life of Sir John Perrott*; Carey's *Vindiciæ Hibernicæ, or Ireland Vindicated*; Burdy's *History of Ireland*; Hooker's *Order and Usage of Keeping Parliaments of Ireland*; and, *An addition to the Chronicles of Ireland from 1546 to 1568*.

insecurity pervading all classes, urged the deputy to severe acts of repression. Yet, he possessed sufficient statesmanlike penetration to trace those evils from their true source, although he wanted both the will and the ability to apply proper remedies. He arrested the Earl of Desmond at Kilmallock, and conveyed him a prisoner to Dublin, in 1567. Soon after this capture, the lord deputy sailed for England to render an account of his severe proceedings, and brought with him the Earl of Desmond, and his brother John, the Baron of Dungannon, O'Connor Sligo, with other Irish chiefs, who afterwards made their submission to the queen.

[8.] About this time, Sir Peter Carew, a Devonshire knight, set up his claim to large tracts of land in the counties of Cork and Carlow. This illegal demand was converted into a substantial admission of title and possession by the Irish government; and Carew was urged to prosecute his claims for certain districts, by taking the field against their rightful owners. This course tended to fan the flames of insurrection, especially in the south of Ireland, where the Earl of Clancare and Sir James Fitzgerald, joined by Sir Edmond Butler, were openly committed to hostilities against the governing powers of this country. Efforts were made to induce the co-operation of Turlough Luineach O'Neill, and emissaries were despatched to his Holiness, the Pope, with a view of procuring valuable assistance in this emergency. Unjust and severe measures adopted by the authorities stimulated

individual proprietors to embark their fortunes, in many of those hazardous and desperate enterprizes.

[4.] During the imprisonment of Earl Desmond and his brother in England, their cousin, Sir James Fitzgerald, commonly called Sir James Fitzmaurice—from his father Maurice of Desmond—assumed command amongst the southern Geraldines. This enterprising nobleman signalled his inauguration by leading an army at the beginning of August, 1568, against Thomas Mac Maurice of Kerry. This latter chieftain was surrounded at the village of Lixnaw, by a numerous host of assailants; but taking counsel with some of his supporters, a sudden onset was made against Fitzmaurice's forces, who were entirely overthrown. Many of their chieftains fell in this engagement.

[5.] In the month of September, Sir Henry Sidney returned to Ireland and landing at Carrickfergus received the submission of Turlough Luineach O'Neill. [6.] On the 17th of January, 1569, an unconstitutionally convened and packed parliament was assembled in Dublin, which left the court party in a majority. During the sitting of this parliament, an act passed for attainting the late Shane O'Neill and for conferring on Elizabeth and her heirs various territories in Ulster. The laws of tanistry were declared abrogated, and the lord deputy was allowed a nomination to church dignities for ten years, within the provinces of Connaught and Munster. Charter schools were ordered to be erected in various dioceses, and their teachers were required to be English. [7.] These measures

led gradually to usurpations of popular privileges, and at a later period in this reign, the lord deputy, by sole authority of the privy council, levied subsidies and taxes for defraying all expenses of the queen's government in Ireland. General indignation ensued, even amongst loyal subjects, when it was deemed politic to pause in carrying out these despotic decrees.

[8.] During this year, Fitzmaurice contrived to unite the people of English and Irish descent in a powerful confederacy, against the authorities of Elizabeth. Even Edmund and Edward, brothers to the loyal Earl of Ormond, joined in this league, which seems to have arisen from various persecutions endured by those professing the ancient religion, with a certain prospect of renewed aggressions, when the power and resources of the crown could be further increased.

[9.] Hopes of military assistance had been held out to the Irish Catholics by the Spanish monarch. But the Earl of Ormond, having been sent from England to quell this formidable insurrection, raised a considerable force, at his own expense. His brothers also soon deserted the cause, in which they had engaged. The two presidencies of Munster and Connaught, lately established by the English, were directed by Sir John Perrot in the former, and by Sir Edward Fitton, in the latter province. [10.] Sir Henry Sidney, the lord justice, conducted a warlike expedition to Munster, in 1569, and having taken Imokilly, he passed thence through Barry's country to the city of Cork.

Here he received the submission of many insurgents. Again marching on towards Limerick, he took some towns on the way. From the latter city, he advanced to Galway, and reduced some of the western tribes to subjection. Leaving the lord president, Fitton, in Athlone, to govern and keep in obedience the western province, Sidney returned to Dublin towards the close of autumn, having accomplished a most successful undertaking within an incredibly short period.

[11.] The Earl of Thomond, who had committed some overt acts of resistance against the lord president of Connaught, had been victoriously attacked by the Earl of Ormond. Finding himself deprived of his castles and influence in Thomond, the vanquished earl retired to places of concealment in Kerry, until he found means of escaping into France. He afterwards received pardon from the queen and returned to Ireland. [12.] The lord president of Connaught, the Earl of Clanrickard, and many other brave captains laid siege in the month of June to Shrile, a village on the borders of Mayo and Galway. But the northern Burkes and the O'Flahertys made a vigorous attack on the besiegers and routed them. Those victors, however, soon retired from the field of battle, which was afterwards occupied by their enemies. [13.] In 1572, about the festival of St. Patrick, the ferocious and tyrannical president summoned a court to be held at Galway, which was numerously attended by the queen's adherents. However, Ulick and John, sons to the Earl of Clan-

rickard, suspecting some treachery, fled privately from that town. Whereupon, their father was arrested and conveyed a prisoner to Dublin. No sooner had this report reached his sons, than with collected forces they raised their standard of revolt. The lord president marched from Athlone to Galway and back, before these insurgents had time to collect their forces. [14.] However, a most powerful confederacy having been formed, the sons of Clanrickard swept all before them to the very gates of Athlone. Thence, advancing north-eastwards, these rebel leaders crossed over the Shannon into Longford and Westmeath. Having plundered Mullingar, they returned and set fire to the Leinster suburbs of Athlone, destroyed Athenry, menaced Galway and passed twice through the O'Flahertys' territory. From the end of spring to the middle of autumn these inroads continued unchecked. At length, having stipulated as a return for obtaining his freedom the pacification and submission of his sons, the Earl of Clanrickard was set at liberty and then fulfilled those engagements. [15.] James Fitzmaurice endeavoured to turn this rising to account in his desperate struggles with the active lord president of Munster, but he failed at a critical moment in the ebb of his fortunes. After enduring an incredible amount of fatigue and danger, further opposition seemed hopeless. In fine, the Earl of Clancare, who had proclaimed himself king of Munster and James Fitzmaurice were obliged to surrender, after having been reduced to extremities, by the



persevering energy and opposition of their ruthless enemies.

[16.] A project, which appears to have been maturing for some time previous, was attempted to be carried into effect, in 1573, on the arrival of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, bearing the title, president of Ulster. Several English gentlemen of distinction and 1,200 soldiers accompanied him. It had been arranged, that for a two years military service, each adventurer should receive his reward in a large tract of confiscated land, whilst their leader was to be recognized as earl marshal of Ireland for a term of seven years. To this extent of power and jurisdiction the new lord deputy, Sir William Fitzwilliam, objected. [17.] Meantime, the imprisoned Earl of Desmond, having contrived to effect his escape, appeared once more amongst his clansmen, who were summoned to his standard. In the course of a single month, Desmond recovered possession of his territories, expelled all usurpers, and re-established the rights and privileges of learned men, ecclesiastics and religious orders. Whilst the O'Briens of Thomond were at enmity amongst themselves, the Earl of Desmond followed up his advantages in south Munster; but the lord justice and the Earl of Ormond, having collected a large army, marched into the very heart of that district, and compelled the humbled Geraldine to make unconditional submission. [18.] In the north, conflicts took place between the Earl of Essex and the O'Neills of Clannaboy. The English marshal

soon found himself reduced to very great straits, and some of his colonists becoming discouraged returned to England. [19.] Essex treacherously seized upon his ally, Con O'Donnell, and sent him a prisoner to Dublin. But a fouler transaction remains to be recorded. When peace and friendship had been established between Brian O'Neill and the earl, this latter nobleman, with his principal followers, having been invited to partake of the Irish chieftain's hospitality, in a moment of festivity seized on the host, his wife and brother, whilst attendant women, youths and maidens were slaughtered in the presence of their master. The three distinguished captives were conveyed to Dublin, where they were inhumanly cut up in quarters. This execution justly produced the most rancorous feeling, unmitigated discontent and foreboding horror, amongst the natives of this country.

[20.] After a very warm summer, Ireland was visited with a virulent plague in 1575. Sir Henry Sydney, again appointed lord justice, landed at Skerries, and having been sworn into office at Drogheda, his course was directed towards Ulster. Here he reassured the people of Tyrone, Tyrconnell and other districts, by banishing the unprincipled Earl of Essex to England, and by granting a pardon to Con O'Donnell, who had escaped from Dublin to his native mountains. [21.] He afterwards went on a tour through Meath, Wicklow, Waterford and Cork. Sydney received the submission of Earl Desmond and his

brother John. James Fitzmaurice with his wife and children fled for protection to France. Rebellion seemed powerless against the measures taken by Sydney. From Cork he went to Limerick, and by his consummate craft and splendid abilities won over the O'Brians to his cause. [22.] Afterwards, he visited Galway, and conciliated some of the Connaught chiefs. He abolished oppressive taxes and customs, every where establishing peace and order. Having returned to Dublin with hostages, from amongst these, two sons of the Earl of Clanrickard made their escape, when the lord justice immediately pursued them across the Shannon. As a punishment for this delinquency, their father was obliged to forfeit his lands and castles, and having been put under arrest was brought to the capital. The whole province of Connaught was next overran by Sydney, whilst Clanrickard's sons sought refuge in those remote fastnesses, which were altogether inaccessible to the English troops. The lord justice installed Sir William Drury in the presidency of Munster. Shortly afterwards, Sir Nicholas Malby was invested with jurisdiction over the western province, on the retirement of the domineering Fitton, whose name was held in detestation by the natives within his district.

[23.] About this time, the O'Mores of Leix and O'Conors of Offaly with their wood-kerns opposed the English; and the famous Rory Oge O'More particularly distinguished himself by the number and brilliancy of his dashing and perilous adven-

tures. He kept the borders of the pale in continual alarm, by burning towns and villages, and at times when their inhabitants were least prepared for an assault. [24.] A frequent repetition of these exploits probably led to the abominable expedient, which indelibly stains even the darkest records of our Irish annals. In 1577, on the faith and under the protection of government, some of the chief men of Leix and Offaly, with their followers, were invited to assemble at the great rath of Mullaghmast, near the town of Athy, for the purpose of holding a conference. Having arrived there, to the number of 400, they were treacherously surrounded by a triple line of the queen's soldiers, and massacred without mercy, so that hardly one single individual escaped the swords of their destroyers.

[25.] A like fatal disaster befel the brave outlaw chief, Rory Oge, who was basely assassinated by MacGiolla Patrick, Baron of Upper Ossory, on the 30th of June 1578, after having maintained an independent attitude towards the English government for a period of eighteen years. The active lord president of Munster, Sir William Drury, succeeded Sir Henry Sydney, as lord justice, this year. [26.] The seneschal of Wexford county laid a plot for assassinating Fiagh O'Byrne, a brave Wicklow chieftain. This conspiracy failed; but the chief of Glenmalur had his revenge, by slaying one hundred of the leaders and youths, with many of the common people, who were leagued against him.

[27.] Meantime, James Fitzmaurice had been zealously urging his persuasions and negotiations at the courts of France and Spain. [28.] The condition of his fellow-Catholics and countrymen in Ireland became so intolerable, that universal sympathy had been created amongst states and people on the Continent, adhering to the old religion. To prejudices originating from differences of race, customs and laws, in this distracted island, were added fierce acerbities arising from sectarian feeling and hateful persecution. Altars and temples despoiled, monasteries and religious orders left desolate, the native clergy proscribed, when they would not choose to apostatize, and the old sanctuaries of religion and learning converted to profane or heterodox purposes, caused the flames of discontent to smoulder, when they did not actually blaze out into open rebellion. Yet, this dismal social state of Irish Catholics admitted not their taking prudent counsel at home, nor combining their scattered elements of strength, in defence of interests and principles most dear to their hearts.

[29.] As champion of the Catholic cause, Fitzmaurice also sought the aid of Pope Gregory XIII., and obtained from this Pontiff the issuing of a bull, which encouraged Irishmen to fight for their national independence and to maintain the Catholic religion. An expedition, to be maintained subsequently at the Spanish monarch's expense, was equipped by the Pope. An English adventurer, named Stukely, was appointed admi-

ral of the fleet, and Hercules Pisano assumed command of the land forces. This expedition, however, did not realize the object for which it was organized ; for on sailing from Civita Vecchia to Lisbon, having been diverted by Sebastian, King of Portugal, to his fatal African project of invading Morocco, James Fitzmaurice was allowed to embark alone for Ireland in three small vessels, with only eighty Spaniards on board. [30.] His small armament touched at Dingle harbour, on the 17th of July, 1579, and afterwards entered Smerwick haven, where Fitzmaurice and the Spaniards landed and fortified a tongue of land, called Oilen-an-oir, or Fort-del-ore. This jutting promontory was further isolated from the mainland, by means of a ditch and curtain wall, erected by this little band of desperate adventurers.

[31.] The Earl of Desmond, impelled by speculative curiosity and interest, went from his encampment in Cullen, county of Tipperary, to see the Spanish transports. The chief marshal of North and South Munster, with Henry Davells and some of their loyal followers, also set out for Tralee. Here the two former were surprised and beheaded, by John and James of Desmond, brothers to the earl. [32.] On the 26th of July, Captain Courtenay sailed with a small ship of war and pinnace, when he captured the Spanish vessels. Fitzmaurice and his foreign band were obliged to adopt the desperate resolution of marching from their isolated position into the country, having been already joined by John and James of Des-

mond. [33.] The vacillating earl, suspected by government and entertaining a personal dislike towards his cousin Fitzmaurice, was not disposed to peril his life and fortunes, by siding with this small invading force. He even aided the lord justice, who had come to Kilmallock, by delivering up Dr. O'Haly, Bishop of Mayo, and a priest named O'Roorke, who were taken as spies. They were subjected to torture, in order to extract some admissions from them, and were afterwards hanged as traitors, their bodies remaining suspended from a tree for several days. [34.] Finding it impossible to arouse their clansmen to rebellion, the three insurgent Geraldines fled to Kilmore, on the borders of Cork and Limerick, pursued by the Earl of Desmond, whose services were put in requisition, as a test of his fealty to the queen.

[35.] At length, on the 17th of August, these fugitive leaders were obliged to separate. John fled to the fastnesses of Lynamore, and James to those of Glenflesk; whilst Fitzmaurice, with a small body of horsemen and kerns, directed his course towards Tipperary. [36.] During his retreat, this latter outlawed chieftain seized some horses from a plough to replace the jaded steeds used by his men. He was immediately pursued by Theobald and Ulick Burke, to whose father these animals belonged. Some of the O'Briens of Ara joined in this pursuit. Sir James Fitzmaurice halted, in a dense and solitary wood, awaiting their approach. After vainly remonstra-

ting with his assailants, a desperate encounter took place. Fitzmaurice was shot in the chest, with a ball, and mortally wounded ; but before submitting to his fate, he rushed into the midst of his enemies. With one blow, the dying chief cleft the head of Theobald, and then inflicted a mortal wound on Ulick. [87.] The brave but unfortunate Fitzmaurice saw his enemies retreat in confusion, and then felt the cold languor of death stealing over his own limbs. Giving final directions to his few faithful followers, after breathing his last the head was cut off by a sorrowing kinsman, and the trunk left for concealment under an aged tree. Here it was afterwards found by a hunter, brought to Kilmallock, suspended from a gallows, and then shattered to pieces by the musket-shots of his enemies. Such was the miserable fate of this chivalrous, adventurous and able leader, whose fortitude never quailed, when difficulties gathered round his course ; whose earnestness, prudence and courage gave every hope of success, under more favourable circumstances and happier auspices.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. Who succeeded Shane O'Neill ?
2. What state of affairs now prevailed in Munster and Connaught ?
3. What adventurer came over to Ireland, and what resulted ?
4. What prominent character appeared on the scene about this period ?
5. When did Sir Henry Sidney return to Ireland ?



6. Were any measures taken for an obliteration of the ancient order of things?
7. What resulted?
8. How did Fitzmaurice act?
9. What occurred afterwards?
10. Relate the incidents of Sir Henry Sydney's campaign.
11. How did the Earl of Thomond conduct himself?
12. What took place in Connaught?
13. What events transpired in 1572?
14. How did Clanrickard's sons succeed?
15. What led to Fitzmaurice's discomfiture?
16. What happened in the north?
17. What insurrection broke out in Munster?
18. What were the Earl of Essex's prospects?
19. What act of atrocity remains on record?
20. State the transactions of 1575.
21. What are the particulars of Sydney's southern visitation?
22. How did he act in the west of Ireland?
23. Amongst the native tribes in Leinster, who became most obnoxious to the English government?
24. Narrate the particulars of the tragic massacre at Mullaghmast.
25. What led to the death of Rory Oge O'More?
26. What happened in Wicklow and Wexford?
27. How was James Fitzmaurice engaged?
28. What was the state of affairs in Ireland?
29. What was the issue to Fitzmaurice's application to the Sovereign Pontiff?
30. When and where did Fitzmaurice land?
31. How was he received among the Geraldines?
32. What urged Fitzmaurice to leave his stronghold?
33. What conduct did the Earl of Desmond observe towards him?
34. How did the insurgents proceed?
35. What occurred on the 17th of August, 1579?
36. Relate the particulars which led to Sir James Fitzmaurice's death.
37. How did his life close?

## LESSON XXIV.

The Geraldine insurrection—Lord Gray's defeat in Wicklow—Massacre at Smerwick harbour—Death of Earl Desmond—Sir John Perrott's administration—Disturbances in Connaught—Settlement of Munster.\*

- [1.] THE Earl of Desmond's real intentions and future course of policy had caused no little anxiety, amongst those leading men, who had charge of English interests in Ireland. Accordingly, Sir William Drury, Sir Nicholas Malby and the Earl of Kildare set out towards the county of Limerick and pitched their camp near the town of Kilmallock. [2.] Here they were met by the Earl of Desmond, who protested he had taken no part in bringing over Fitzmaurice or in the defection of his own relatives. As a guarantee for his loyalty, this earl delivered his only son and heir, James, a hostage to the lord justice. Notwithstanding a promise of protection given, the cattle of Desmond's tenants were destroyed, whilst crops, lands and castles were either burned or plundered.—[3.] John of Desmond now assumed command of

\* The following works are valuable for reference: Plowden's *Historical Review of the State of Ireland*; *Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of the Sydneys*; Spencer's *View of the State of Ireland*; *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*; or, *Collection of State Papers, illustrating the government of Ireland during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.*; Moryson's *History of Ireland*; *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*.

the insurgent forces, whilst the Spanish officers trained them to military manœuvres. The lord justice having advanced to Kilmore wood, with 400 English and Irish soldiers, these troops were led into an ambuscade, by John and James of Desmond, at Gort-na-Tiobrad, in the southern part of Limerick county. A desperate encounter took place, when 800 of the English forces and three of their captains fell, before the survivors sought safety in flight.

[4.] Soon after this disaster, the lord justice moved his camp to Athneasy, about four miles eastward of Kilmallock. There he fell sick. Leaving Malby to oppose the Geraldines, the lord justice was conveyed in a chariot to Waterford, where he died on the last day of September. At this city, a force of 600 men had landed, in a small fleet consisting of six war vessels, under the command of Sir John Perrott, formerly president of Munster. [5.] The council at Dublin had elected Sir William Pelham, who had lately come from England, as lord justice. Sir Nicholas Malby, after an obstinate engagement, obtained a victory over John of Desmond at Mannister-anana, in the county of Limerick. Being joined by the newly appointed lord justice, with the Earls of Kildare and Ormond, the English soldiers encamped in Hy-Conillo. From the outrageous conduct pursued by these invaders of his territories, and their repeated aggressions, Earl Desmond was at length reluctantly forced to raise the standard of revolt, by declaring for the cause of his

outlawed relations. [6.] This afforded a pretext for the English to garrison his principal castles, and to destroy every house and stack of corn within reach. What added still more to this miserable scene of desolation was a design, executed by the Geraldines, to waste their own country wherever they came, so as to diminish the resources of their invaders. [7.] As the whole principality of Desmond was ripe for revolt, the Earl soon found himself at the head of a large army, with which he invaded the territories of his enemies, the Barrys and Roches in Cork. Whilst the Earl of Ormond plundered and burned the country about Newcastle, Desmond seized the town of Youghal, which afforded a rich booty to the Geraldines. They afterwards levelled its walls, castles and houses, and left it uninhabitable. These events took place about the festival of Christmas.

[8.] In the year 1580, James of Desmond was captured by ambuscade, and conveyed to Cork, where a writ arrived from Dublin, ordering his execution. Being hanged and quartered, his head was fixed on a spike and placed over one of the city gates. Aid from abroad had been expected by the southern Irish; but for some time they had been obliged to bear alone the brunt of that life and death struggle, in which they were now involved. [9.] The lord justice and the Earl of Ormond ravaged the already wasted territories of Desmond. These leaders spared neither age nor sex on their march, and put to the sword those

who defended the few remaining castles in possession of the earl. Yet, numbers of their marauding persecutors were slain by the country people, whose crops and cattle had been plundered. An English inroad, through the mountains of Kerry, was attended by a great loss of men and horses—jaded by those difficult passes through which they advanced, and suffering sorely from a want of provender.

An armament arrived in the Shannon this year, under Sir William Winter, who by his evolutions rendered material assistance to the lord justice. [10.] Meantime, the English council sent over Arthur Lord Gray, who landed in Dublin on the 12th of August, with the title lord deputy of Ireland. Sir William Pelham surrendered the sword of state to him in the month of September, and soon afterwards sailed for England. Before this inauguration took place, however, Lord Gray had suffered a disgraceful and disastrous defeat, within the defiles of Glenmalure, county of Wicklow. [11.] Lord Baltinglass had attracted to his popular standard the mountain tribes of O'Byrnes, O'Tooles, Kavanaghs, with many of the malcontents in Leix and Offaly, who had resolved to dare the issue under his command, in defence of their religion and fatherland. Whilst the main body of the English army advanced through a gloomy defile, Lord Gray and a party of reserve occupied an eminence at the entrance to this valley. Suddenly, a roll of musketry was heard from the surrounding woods and coverts: the English ad-

vanced guard was thrown into confusion, and in a moment afterwards, the wily mountaineers issuing from rugged places of concealment vigorously pressed their impetuous assaults. Numbers of the bravest captains and common soldiers were slain, whilst their leader was obliged to hasten his retreat on Dublin, where he arrived with a damaged military reputation and covered with disgrace.

[12.] In the month of September, 700 Spaniards and Italians disembarked from four small Spanish vessels, and proceeded to occupy the post of Fort-del-ore, where Fitzmaurice had previously landed. Commanded by Sebastian de San Josef, a Spaniard, they brought a supply of arms for 5,000 men, with a considerable sum of money. Promises of further reinforcements were circulated.

[13.] Meanwhile, John of Desmond, who had taken refuge during summer in the glens and woods of Aharlow, had fled with a small company through Tipperary and Ossory. On the wild mountains of Slieve Bloom, he rallied the fighting men of Leix and Offaly, and then plundered the towns of Abbeyleix and Maryborough. In fine, he formed a junction with Viscount Baltinglass and those turbulent Wicklow tribes under his command. [14.] Earl Desmond met his foreign auxiliaries, and had a slight skirmish with Earl Ormond, who came to reconnoitre their insulated position. The Lord Deputy Gray, having marched southwards, accompanied by some experienced officers and Earl Ormond, sat down before the fort at Smerwick harbour, early in the month of

November. An English fleet, under Admiral Winter, co-operated from the sea ; trenches were opened and regular approaches made on the part of these besiegers. On the third day, after a few ineffective sallies, the foreign soldiers found their position no longer tenable. They requested a parley, which was granted. Gray demanded their unconditional surrender. On the morning of November 10th, the colonel, with ten or twelve of his gentlemen, came to the lord deputy, presenting their ensigns rolled up, and trusting life and liberty to his discretion. Their atrocious conqueror tells us in his own despatch, that he immediately sent certain gentlemen to see their weapons and armories laid down, and to guard the munition and victuals left from spoil. "Then put I in certeyne bandes, who streighte fell to execution," he says, "there were 600 slayn !" The fortifications on Fort-del-ore were afterwards levelled, and the lord deputy returned to Dublin, with such an unenvied notoriety for perfidy and cruelty, that "Gray's faith" became proverbial, and detestably reproachful over the continent of Europe.

[15.] When Ulick and John Burke, sons of Earl Clanrickard, took up arms against the English and dismantled several castles within their province, the flames of insurrection blazed out in Connaught. The O'Roorkes, O'Conors and O'Brians were also compromised in these disturbances. No less than forty-five persons accused of treasonable crimes were hanged at Dublin, in 1581, as we are told by the Four Masters. [16.]

In the southern parts of Ireland, many undoubtedly loyal persons were forced into actual rebellion by the wanton cruelties of unprincipled adventurers, who hoped for confiscated estates and were directly interested in the results of native disloyalty and discomfiture. The celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh earned an odious reputation for cruelty and rapacity, at this period. Strenuously did the Geraldines maintain that desperate struggle, in which they were engaged.

[17.] John of Desmond victoriously swept the territories of the Butler and MacCarthy More families, carrying away creaghts of cattle and spoils. The Earl of Desmond was however surprised by Captain Zouch, in a night attack made on his camp at Aghadoe, near Killarney, when many of the Geraldine clansmen were slain. With recovered energy, Desmond led a hosting towards Cashel, which he took and plundered, wasting at the same time all the adjoining country. An opposing force lost 400 men in an attempt to intercept his retreat towards the romantic glens of Aharlow. Kilfeacle, Ardmayle and Athassel, in Tipperary, were taken and plundered by the Geraldines. Dr. Saunders, an Englishman most zealous for the Catholic cause, and the Pope's legate in Ireland, died this year amidst the woods of Claenlaise, where the Desmond retainers then sought refuge. [18.] Donnell O'Sullivan Beare vigorously attacked a plundering party of Carbery-men, who were slain to the number of nearly 800, although assaulted only by fifty able-bodied moun-



taineers. Meantime, the O'Roorkes, O'Donnells and O'Neills, seemingly oblivious of the cause which urged the southern tribes to take up arms, spent this summer in giving and receiving alternate victory or defeat. The sons of Earl Clanrickard were reconciled to the English, after entering into a treaty, extorted from the outward pressure imposed on government, by the menacing aspect of affairs in the south.

[19.] Reverses now fell in quick succession on the most active chiefs of the insurgent party, who were either captured or slain, whilst many deserted the national cause, as utterly hopeless. Whilst John of Desmond kept on his way to the glens of Aharlow, and marched southwards, after crossing the Blackwater, he was encountered by Captain Zouch, with his soldiers, and the valiant outlawed chief was mortally wounded. His death soon afterwards ensued; when the body was thrown across his own steed, and in that ignominious manner brought to Cork. There it was hung in chains, at one of the city gates. For nearly three years it remained in that position, until blown into the sea one night, during a prevailing tempest. The head having been cut off was sent to Dublin, and there spiked in front of the Castle. James of Desmond and two of his sons were hanged soon after this tragic occurrence. [20.] The notorious Captain Zouch, with a band of soldiers, having overran and wasted a considerable part of the Desmond possessions, demanded a son from the head of each local tribe, as a hostage. Fitzmaurice of Lixnaw

and his three sons having afterwards committed depredations against the government, in revenge for these offences, Zouch hanged some of the hostages he held, although they were merely innocent children. [21.] Soon afterwards, the English were defeated by the Earl of Desmond and the Macmaurices at Ardfert, and obliged to retire on Cork, after having completely evacuated the Geraldine country. The Earl of Desmond ravaged the territories of his mortal enemy, the absent Earl of Ormond, whose sons he defeated at Knockgraffon, in the county of Tipperary. Desmond was also successful in his incursions through the county of Kerry. [22.] About Christmas, this unfriended earl had become a wretched fugitive in the woods of Kilquane, near Kilmallock. Here himself and his countess sought refuge in a miserable cabin, where they were suddenly surrounded at break of day, by a party of English soldiers. The noble pair fled to a swollen river adjoining, in their night dresses, and here immersed in the cold water they sought concealment, merely holding their heads above the surface, whilst screened from view by a jutting bank. This miserable expedient enabled them to baffle the close search of their pursuers. These different incidents are referred to the year 1582. [23.] About this time, also, the fair fields and plains of Munster were swept with a sirocco of war, desolation and death; whilst the wretched natives that survived were compelled to feed on carrion, or like beasts of the field they subsisted on roots of

water-cresses or shamrock, during the horrible famine that followed, so pathetically and graphically described by the poet Spencer.

[24.] A fugitive through the woods and mountains, Earl Desmond was chased from one hiding-place to another, the following year. In the waning state of his fortunes many followers deserted him; but on the approach of winter, he had an accession of desperadoes to share his miserable chances of war. The Earl of Ormond had been appointed governor of the two Munsters, and vindictively pursued his fallen foe, who had many singular escapes from death or capture. [25.] Attended by a small band of gallowlasses, that remained faithful to him through all vicissitudes, on one occasion, a troop of soldiers commanded by Captain Dowdall surprised the earl and his friends in the glebs of Aharlow, whilst they were engaged cooking a horse to eat. Many of these gallowlasses were put to the sword; whilst Desmond with his surviving band fled to the mountains of Kerry. Here being pressed by hunger, Desmond's men seized violently on some cattle for their subsistence, which action being resented by the owners and their friends, on the 11th of November the unfortunate earl was surrounded in his hut, wounded and made prisoner. His captors soon afterwards cut off his head, which on being sent to England, was enclosed in an iron cage, and impaled on London bridge. His body was interred by some country people in the little chapel of Kilnamanagh, near Castleisland, county of

Kerry. [26.] A short time after this mournful event, two Spanish ships arrived off the coast, with a supply of men, arms and money for the earl. On hearing of his melancholy end, and the total prostration of his partisans' hopes, they again spread their sails for a hasty departure. The great Geraldine rebellion now seemed totally suppressed. Many of the surviving insurgents laid down their arms, or fled from the kingdom.

[27.] Sir John Perrott, sent to Ireland as lord justice, was sworn into office on the 26th of June, 1584. Sir Nicholas Malby, having died in Athlone, about Shrovetide, was succeeded by Sir Richard Bingham as governor of Connaught, whilst Sir Thomas Norris or Norreys became president of Munster. [28.] Soon after arriving at Dublin, the new lord justice proceeded to Galway and Limerick, to take measures for the complete reduction of adjoining territories. Afterwards, he went into Ulster, where he chased the MacDonnells from the glens of Antrim, and took their strong castle of Dunluce, so romantically situated on its sea-girt rocks. Seven counties were parcelled out in the north, at this time, viz. Armagh, Monaghan, Tyrone, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh and Cavan. For these, sheriffs, coroners and commissioners of the peace were appointed. [29.] A new policy of conciliation had been projected by the able administrator, Perrott; and to give effect to his intentions, a parliament was assembled in Dublin, on the 26th of April, 1585. Besides noblemen and gentlemen of English de-

scent, chiefs or heads of mostly all the native septs were in attendance. [30.] This parliament was prorogued on the 29th of May, after having attainted Lord Baltinglass and some other insurgents. The lord deputy also intended to suspend Poynings' Act, in order that he might the more readily pass such laws, as were deemed necessary. In this attempt, however, he was strenuously opposed by the Anglo-Irish members, who rejected a bill framed for this purpose, on its third reading. Certain ordinances were passed and a commission issued to annul claims of chieftains, gentlemen and freeholders for imposing taxes, through pretence of protecting their estates and tenants in the province of Connaught and in Thomond. Upon every quarter of land (about 120 acres), a grant of ten shillings English or a marke Irish was demanded, as a composition for the queen and her successors. In return for the payment of this revenue the state was obliged to undertake all ordinary charges of defence and protection.

[31.] Early in the year 1586, seventy men and women were executed in Galway, by the brutal governor of Connaught, Sir Richard Bingham. He next took the strong castle of Cloonoan, in the county of Clare, and when the garrison surrendered, he mercilessly put all its defenders to the sword. Then marching against the Burkes of Mayo, he demolished their castle, on an island in Lough Mask, and hanged some distinguished men of their family. These severities seem to have roused a great portion of the Connacians to rebel-

lion, during this summer. Having failed in meeting those, who had taken up arms, and who stood on the defensive, in the heart of their western highlands, Bingham's soldiers plundered that whole tract of country through which they passed, killing peasants, boys, decrepid persons, and even women, who thought themselves under protection of the law at that time. [32.] A fleet had arrived at Inishowen, from the western shores of Scotland. The hardy adventurers on board accepted an invitation to unite their bands with the Burkes, who promised them lands and spoils in Connaught. The Scots pushed onwards through the latter province; but, on the morning of September 22nd, they were surprised by Bingham at Ardnaree, near the river Moy. After a vain resistance, they were routed in great confusion, and driven into the rapid and deep river, where 2,000 of their number were either slaughtered or drowned. The fugitives, who attempted to escape into Ulster, were nearly all slain by the sword or hanged, before they could attempt to cross the Erne. [33.] Frightful executions followed this disaster: aged, unresisting persons, and even many of the gentler sex, paid the forfeit of their lives, on the ignominious gallows.

[34.] These barbarous severities were reprobated by the lord deputy, but unfortunately he felt powerless to prevent their commission. The English adventurers in Ireland practised various intrigues and schemes to prejudice the queen against him. They jealously supposed, that his

line of policy and justice towards the native Irish might preclude reasonable chances for obtaining escheated lands or must tend to the advancement of the natives in political, social or religious equality with the dominant faction. Even in the council chamber, and from his subordinates in office, the lord deputy was destined to endure insult and opposition.

[35.] In a second session of parliament, held this year, the late Earl Desmond and 140 of his adherents were declared to be attainted. As a consequence, their estates were confiscated to the crown. Nearly 600,000 acres were thus set apart, to be colonized by English undertakers.

[36.] These estates were offered for three pence, and in some instances, for two pence, per acre; whilst it was stipulated, this rent should not be demanded for the three first years after occupation. Only half of this stipulated sum was declared payable for the three succeeding years. Eighty-six English families were required to colonise an estate, containing 12,000 acres, and a proportionate number of families was destined for any lesser applotment. Seven years were allowed to each proprietor, in order to complete his settlement. Garrisons and forts were to be stationed at suitable points for protection against the natives, who were only permitted to become helots or labourers, and on no account should they be deemed eligible as tenants. Yet, these impracticable covenants were evaded, in various particulars, when a sort of partial success attended this

scheme. [37.] Many English adventurers poured into Munster, with vague speculations on those flattering hopes held out for bettering their condition. However, the theories of administration were found inapplicable to the settlers' interests, in a practical point of view; and thus, in many cases, peaceable natives obtained leases or inheritances. The Geraldine power completely broken, and the tranquillity of utter desolation reigning throughout their extensive domains, peace and order were finally supposed to be procured, because that beautiful district of Munster had been reduced to one vast and depopulated wilderness.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What suspicions were entertained by government against the Earl of Desmond?
2. How were they met by him?
3. Who became the leading spirit in this insurrection?
4. When and where did the lord justice die?
5. Who next assumed the direction of English affairs?
6. In what state was his country left after the revolt of Earl Desmond?
7. What followed after his first rising?
8. What happened in 1580?
9. How did the war proceed?
10. Who was now appointed lord deputy?
11. Relate the disaster, which befel Lord Gray in the county of Wicklow.
12. What armament arrived at this time to aid the Irish?
13. What were the adventures of John of Desmond?
14. Narrate the issue of the foreign invasion.
15. What disturbances occurred in other quarters?
16. What tended to fan the flames of rebellion in the south?



17. What successes were achieved by the Geraldines ?
18. Are any other noteworthy actions on record at this time ?
19. Relate those occurrences that led to the untimely end of John and James of Desmond.
20. What atrocities of Captain Zouch are recorded ?
21. How did Desmond act ?
22. What accidents befel towards the close of 1582 ?
23. What was the state of Ireland at this period ?
24. What were now the fortunes of Earl Desmond ?
25. State those circumstances that terminated this unfortunate nobleman's career.
26. What ensued ?
27. Who were now appointed to important commands in Ireland ?
28. What were the first movements of Sir John Perrott ?
29. On what principles did he propose to conduct government ?
30. What acts passed in the parliament at Dublin ?
31. What savage barbarities occurred in Connaught under the date of 1586 ?
32. What fate befel the Scotch invaders ?
33. What followed ?
34. Was the lord deputy an approver of these excesses ?
35. What took place in the second session of the Irish parliament ?
36. What plan was now adopted for the colonization of Munster by the English ?
37. What was the result ?

## LESSON XXV.

Imprisonment of Hugh Roe O'Donnell—Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone—Wars in Connaught—Policy of Hugh O'Neill—Escape of Hugh Roe O'Donnell to the North—His first military achievements—Suspensions entertained of Earl Tyrone's loyalty—Disturbances in Leinster—O'Neill renounces his allegiance—United action of the Chiefs of Tyrone and Tyrconnell—Splendid campaign of O'Donnell—Various warlike movements—Irish victories in Connaught—Lord Justice Borough defeated in Ulster—Successful efforts of O'Neill and O'Donnell—English disaster at Tyrrell's Pass—Reverses sustained by the queen's forces in different parts of Ireland.\*

[1.] Two of the most distinguished chieftains, our island ever produced, about this time, were preparing to engage in those brilliant achievements, which shed a partial radiance on the gloomily chequered course of historic events. Young Hugh Roe, the eldest son of Sir Hugh O'Donnell, chieftain of Tyrconnell, had attained his fifteenth year, in 1587. Common report had pronounced him

\* The works which serve for illustration of the events here recorded are: O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. vi.; Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*; Walker's *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*; Mitchell's *Life of Hugh O'Neill*; Captain Thomas Lee's *Brief Declaration of the Government of Ireland*. There is a manuscript life in Irish of Hugh Roe O'Donnell preserved in the Royal Irish Academy Library; besides this, there are various MS. poems of Maolmuire, son of Conula Macan Bhaird (Ward), Dubhthach O'Duigenan, Iolland O'Donellan, Maoilin og Mac Bruody, or Brodin, Cuchonacht O'Daly, Mac Con O'Clery, Giolla-Iosa O'Daly, Feargal og Macan Bhaird, and other cotemporaneous bards.

a boy possessing no ordinary qualities of mind and body. An impression had gone abroad, that he would become the liberator of his people from the English yoke and reign for ten years over them, according to a credited prediction of St. Columbkille. [2.] An infamous plot had been concocted by Sir John Perrott, to get this youth within his power, and the following device was adopted, to accomplish this object. Having freighted a ship with Spanish wines, it was despatched from Dublin to Lough Swilly, where the vessel cast anchor, opposite Rathmullen Castle, in the county of Donegal. It was pretended this ship had sailed direct from Spain, and for purposes of traffic. Hugh Roe, who lived in the neighbourhood with his foster-father, MacSweeny, and some of his companions, having been enticed on board, their arms were suddenly removed, and the hatches closed upon them. The anchor having been raised, this vessel immediately stood out for sea. Then only people on shore became aware of a base act of treachery practised against the noble youth, but they had no boats to prevent his capture. His foster-father vainly offered hostages and pledges for his redemption, which would not be accepted. [3.] That vessel in which he sailed soon afterwards entered the bay of Dublin, to the great joy and satisfaction of the lord justice and council. These high officials of government naturally felt anxious to test the abilities of their youthful captive. At last, they had him and his companions committed to Bermingham Tower, in the Castle

of Dublin, for safe keeping. Here in chains and close confinement, those noble youths brooded sadly over their misfortunes, scarcely daring to hope for ultimate liberation.

[4.] Towards the close of April, 1588, the celebrated Hugh O'Neill, who already obtained the title, Earl of Tyrone, in which he had been confirmed by Elizabeth, led an army against the old and imbecile Turlough Luineach. Having encamped at Carricklea, between the rivers Finn and Mourne in the county of Tyrone, and having been joined by his father-in-law, Sir Hugh O'Donnell, in a battle which ensued on the first of May, the earl was defeated. [5.] Soon after this, Sir John Perrott was recalled, at his own desire, from the government of Ireland, and his position was assumed by the corrupt and avaricious Sir William Fitzwilliam. [6.] Several vessels, belonging to the dispersed Spanish armada, having been cast with their crews on the shores of Ireland, a sympathetic feeling and common interest existing between the Irish and Spaniards caused these shipwrecked mariners to receive welcome and protection from native chiefs, even when it was most dangerous to exercise towards them the rites of common hospitality. In some instances, death and captivity awaited those, who extended their protection to the distressed foreigners. [7.] Rossa MacMahon, chief of Monaghan, having died without male issue in 1589, his brother and heir apparent, Hugh Roe, went to Dublin, in order to have his title recognized and duly perfected ac-

according to English forms of law. The venal lord justice accepted a large bribe for rendering this service, and soon afterwards had the newly installed chief arrested, on a false charge of treason. By coercion exercised on a jury of common soldiers, his condemnation was procured, and MacMahon was afterwards executed in his own house. Thus did the villanous lord deputy enrich himself by accepting bribes, whilst distributing the murdered chieftain's property amongst four of the MacMahon sept. In this iniquitous distribution, Sir Henry Bagnal, the marshal, and a Captain Henslowe fell in for a considerable share of the booty. [8.] The Burkes of Tirawley broke out in rebellion against Sir Richard Bingham, governor of the Connaught province. They defeated his forces in a defile of the western mountains. This victory drew numbers of the native septs to their standard, and the province suffered considerably from their subsequent ravages. Oppressive acts on the part of an inhuman and a sanguinary governor originated and sustained this revolt.

[9.] In 1590, after some manœuvring between the English forces under Bingham and the tumultuous following of the Burkes, these latter came to terms, and were allowed to return to their respective homes unmolested, on delivering hostages for future peaceable behaviour to the governor. Free to engage in other quarrels, Bingham turned his arms against O'Roorke of Breifney, whom he expelled from this territory. Brian O'Roorke escaped into Scotland, but he was afterwards appre-

hended and brought to London where being condemned to death, this chief was hanged, beheaded and quartered. After Michaelmas, the O'Rorcks opposed their invaders in force, and soon spoiled every possession, belonging to the English. [10.] Hugh Roe O'Donnell, and some of his companions contrived to effect their escape from the tower in which they were confined. Having let themselves down from a window by means of a rope, in the very depth of winter, they fled beyond the city walls towards the Dublin mountains. Here, the scion of Tryconnell lay down completely exhausted, and having sent a trusty servant to the house of Felim O'Toole at Powerscourt, this chief, although willing to protect the unfriended youth, feared the consequences for himself and his family. As some soldiers sent in pursuit were approaching, the Wicklow chieftain sacrificed his own feelings to the necessities of this moment. Surrendering O'Donnell to his enemies, who conducted him to his former place of durance, the youth was subjected to a closer surveillance than before and loaded with iron fetters.

[10.] Meantime, Hugh O'Neill had been strengthening his power and influence amongst the Ulster Scots and the minor chiefs of that province. Professing a desire to live in peaceable relations with the English queen, he was allowed to keep a standing force of six well disciplined military companies to preserve peace in the north. Watching the progress of events with profound political dissimulation—although accused of trai-

torous correspondence with the Spaniards—the Earl of Tyrone took a bold resolution of appearing before Elizabeth in London to vindicate his conduct. [12.] Having acted illegally by leaving Ireland, without obtaining the viceroy's permission, he was cast into prison at London, but soon afterwards released. The queen was pleased to receive his submission, and she even entered into articles of agreement with him that he should renounce the title of O'Neill, and allow Tyrone to be erected into shire-ground. He also promised to permit the officials and machinery of English law to operate within the limits of his jurisdiction. Other restrictions were imposed on him, which were supposed necessary to secure governmental influence, in that part of the country. Unexceptionable securities were required, for a fulfilment of these and various other conditions, on the part of himself and some neighbouring chieftains. [13.] Returning to Ireland, Hugh excused himself from the execution of these stipulations, until his brother chiefs had also complied with the required engagements. Having received a guarantee of protection, O'Neill apparently discharged for some time all the duties of a subject faithful to the crown. Affecting a great desire to look for preferment and reward through the queen, his subtile and aspiring genius led him to entertain bolder and prouder flights, towards the ultimate goal of his ambition.

In 1592, the Burkes were subdued by the governor of Connaught. [14.] About the close of this same year, Hugh Roe O'Donnell and Art

O'Neill had made their escape from Dublin Castle. From cold and exhaustion, the latter died before relief could be afforded him, on the bleak mountains of Wicklow. Fiagh O'Byrne of Glenmalur succeeded in rescuing Hugh Roe from the extremity of hardship, hunger and fatigue he endured. After affording him shelter and medical attendance, until the young chief had recovered the use of his limbs, benumbed from the effects of intense cold, O'Donnell was provided with a servant and a pair of horses. With these the noble youth contrived his escape through difficult passes to the Castle of Dungannon, where he was joyously received and concealed by the Earl of Tyrone. Soon afterwards, Hugh Roe arrived in Tyrconnell. [15.] Having driven a body of English soldiers from that part of the country, his father, Sir Hugh, resigned the chieftainry, in favour of this heroic son. The impetuous young chief, soon after his inauguration, led a force against Sir Turlough Luineach O'Neill, whose lands he ravaged, in defiance of assistance afforded by some English soldiers, who supported this adversary. Through the kindly offices of Earl Tyrone, who had been formerly married to Hugh Roe's sister,\* not only did the young chieftain of Tyrconnell appear before the lord justice at Dun-

\* After the death of his former wife, O'Neill had eloped with the sister of Marshal Bagnal, and their marriage, took place on the 3rd of August, 1591. Sir Henry Bagnal was an implacable enemy of the Irish race, and entertained a particular animosity towards O'Neill, his brother-in-law.



dalk, to obtain pardon for his escape, but on both sides, they parted with mutual expressions of courtesy and friendship. Whereupon, some malcontents of the Kinel-Conall henceforth regarded Hugh Roe as their lawful dynast. [16.] In fine, Hugh Roe O'Donnell obliged Turlough Luineach to dismiss his English guards and acknowledge Earl Tyrone as The O'Neill. In the month of May, 1598, all Ulster submitted to the energetic chiefs of the Kinel-Connell and Kinel-Owen, whilst these dynasts retained hostages to secure the dependence of most influential subordinates. O'Rourke of Breifney and Maguire of Fermanagh had been driven into rebellion, owing to some unjust exactions, inflicted on them by the authorities.

[17.] The lord justice levied a great army to suppress this insurrection; and the Earl of Tyrone felt himself obliged to take an unwilling part in this contest, having been summoned to co-operate with Marshal Bagnal and the governor of Connaught. Maguire drove his flocks into O'Donnell's territory, and then occupied a defensive position, near Enniskillen, on the west side of Lough Erne. Finding it impossible to pass over at this point, the English army marched northwards, along the margin of the lake, whilst Maguire's forces kept pace with them, on its opposite shores. Both parties, at length, joined issue by the ford of Ath-Culvain, near Belleek, where Maguire lost several of his men and was obliged to allow his enemies a passage over the river. The Earl of Tyrone was wounded during this onset. [18.] Sir William

Fitzwilliam came the following year to Enniskillen, and after having placed an English garrison there, afterwards returned to Dublin. However, Maguire procured the aid of O'Donnell, and from the beginning of June to the middle of August, a close investment of this fortress took place. Again, the lord deputy organized a great hosting for its relief, as the garrison began to suffer for want of provisions. These bands were intercepted and defeated, with considerable slaughter, at Drumane bridge, on the river Arney, about five miles from Enniskillen. The Irish took all the provisions destined for the besieged. No sooner were they assured of this reverse, than the soldiers in garrison capitulated, and Irish warders were placed to guard it.

[19.] Sir William Russell was sworn in as lord justice on Sunday the 11th of August. [20.] Soon after this occurrence, the Earl of Tyrone sought an interview in Dublin, to exculpate himself from charges of disloyalty, preferred against him, and especially by his mortal enemy, Bagnal. O'Neill challenged his brother-in-law to the ordeal of single combat, probably as a politic expedient to vindicate his own asserted innocence, to shame his adversary, and to obtain the respect of all who had lent a ready ear to these charges. Bagnal however declined this irrational mode of feudal arbitrament. For some time, it had been debated amongst the privy councillors, whether it might not be advisable to apprehend Tyrone, whilst placed within their power. Some of the members

however pleaded for a full and frank trust, in his antecedents and loyalty, so that he was finally allowed a safe conduct to his northern principality.

[21.] Sir William Russell marched to Ballinacor, in the month of January, 1595, where he surprised Fiagh O'Byrne's castle, and drove the Wicklow chieftain as an outcast to the glens and mountains. At this time, also, Walter Reagh, one of the Kildare Geraldines, plundered and burned the village of Crumlin, near the city of Dublin. This daring marauder was afterwards captured through treachery, taken to Dublin, and there executed.

[22.] The time had now arrived, when O'Neill deemed it no longer necessary to assume disguise as to his intentions ; and accordingly an inroad, upon the county of Meath, resulted in victory and plunder for the forces of Tirowen. The earl had succeeded in disciplining great numbers of his clansmen, and ostensibly for the queen's service, without awakening the suspicions of government ; for he had discharged many already trained as soldiers, and enlisted others in their stead, until he was able to command a respectable force, devoted to his own purposes. Under pretence of building a castle for himself, he had stored up at Dungannon great quantities of lead, really designed as material for bullets. It was also discovered, that he had maintained a secret correspondence with Spain, in hopes of receiving foreign assistance. His able and attached ally, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, was maddened with a remembrance of


the wrongs he had so long and unjustly endured from the English. His own personal, national and religious feelings strongly excited, and deeming the moment for action opportune, the already disaffected Earl of Tyrone prepared to act with vigour. [23.] O'Donnell accordingly made a powerful diversion in behalf of their common cause, by his three most brilliant and successful inroads upon parts of Connaught, Leinster and Ulster. He took several castles, and burned down the houses and property of all English colonists, found in the districts through which he passed, until at length summoned by O'Neill to render assistance, against a large force of English, directed against Tyrone. [24.] Sir John Norris or Norreys, brother to Sir Thomas, lord president of Munster, had been sent over from England with the title of lord general, and a force of 2,000 veteran soldiers and 1,000 recruits. [25.] The lord justice and council at once despatched 1,000 men to Newry. Whereupon, O'Neill and O'Donnell marched in the month of May to Faughard, in the county of Louth. When Sir John Norris, with his troops, had arrived, the lord justice joined him, in an expedition to the north, by way of Newry and Armagh. [26.] O'Neill and O'Donnell had formed an entrenched camp on a high road between the latter city and the Blackwater river. This strong position it was not deemed prudent to force: whereupon leaving a garrison of three companies at Armagh, the lord justice retired upon Newry, whither he was pursued by the Ulster chiefs. The lord general and

his brother Sir Thomas Norris afterwards attempted to advance with a large army from Newry, to Armagh; but having been attacked by the Irish about half way, these two English leaders were wounded and many of their soldiers were slain. With much loss, both of men and arms, they retreated in confusion to Newry. [27.] The chiefs and people of northern Connaught were now in open revolt, and O'Donnell soon came to their assistance. Everywhere he came, victory seemed to flutter round his banners, during the progress of this campaign. Having destroyed finally the castle of Sligo, he returned to Ulster.

[28.] In an attempt to revictual an English garrison at Monaghan, on returning to Newry, the party sent for this purpose was intercepted at Clontibret, by O'Neill's men. Here the English were broken and routed with considerable loss. [29.] The storm of war again swept over Connaught, through which O'Donnell once more passed, without meeting any serious opposition. On this occasion, he took no less than thirteen castles, which were dismantled. Having obtained hostages to secure the fealty of all those tribes, through whose territories he marched, the brave chief of Tyrconnell directed his course homewards, across the Erne.

[30.] An ineffectual attempt to bring the Earl of Tyrone to terms, in 1596, was afterwards repeated with somewhat greater success. In opposition to the policy of Sir William Russell, the lord general desired to adopt a more lenient course towards the

Irish, who, he had reason to believe, were aroused to hostilities, through repeated acts of wanton insult and oppression. The terms of peace proffered were by no means unreasonable, but O'Neill, O'Donnell and the other chiefs of their province, assembled in council, rejected them, fearing from a knowledge of the past, that if their present hostile and formidable attitude were abandoned, the conditions obtained might easily be infringed, if not totally disregarded. [81.] When this refusal of a treaty had been communicated to the queen, she directed a great levy of armed men to be raised for active service in Ireland. The lord general and O'Donnell confronted each other in Connaught this year, at the head of their respective forces; but little advantage was obtained on either side. The queen and her council, on account of his cruelties, were induced to remove Sir Richard Bingham from the governorship of Connaught, which was conferred on a much more humane and popular man, Sir Conyers Clifford. [82.] On the 19th of May, Owny Mac Rory O'More, a brave young chieftain of Leix, obtained a victory over the Cosbies at Stradbally bridge, in the Queen's county. Two of the Cosbies fell in this obstinate conflict. [83.] O'Neill, having agreed to a short truce, soon afterwards heard of three Spanish pinnaces having arrived on the coast of Donegal. They landed a supply of warlike munitions, and brought letters of encouragement, from the king of Spain to O'Donnell. [84.] This news was soon conveyed to the chiefs of



Leinster, and emboldened several of them to engage in agrarian disturbances. Having remonstrated with the government, on account of hostilities against his friend, Fiagh MacHugh O'Byrne, O'Neill made this a pretext for seizing on Armagh, before it could be relieved by Sir John Norris. Yet, the situation of public affairs seemed so threatening, that government sent commissioners to confer once more with O'Neill near Dundalk. O'Donnell again marched into Connaught, towards the close of this year, to punish the defection of some native tribes, who seemed resolved on siding with the English.

[35.] Hugh Roe, having encamped in Leitrim, waited there for a mustering and arrival of all his forces. When they had assembled, towards the end of January, 1597, he marched straight forward into Connaught, which he completely overran and plundered. He took the strongly fortified town of Athenry, ravaged the territory of Clanrickard, and having marched to the very gates of Galway, compelled its citizens to exchange their merchandize for some of his cattle preys. Then marching northwards, he encamped in Calry, near Sligo, and defeated a force collected to oppose him, by O'Connor Sligo. Leaving a portion of his troops, under command of Niall Garv O'Donnell, to harass his enemies in that quarter, the chief of Tyrconnell drove vast cattle preys into his own territories, and then allowed his military bands an interval of rest, after their rapid and fatiguing marches.

[36.] Theobald-na-long, or Toby of the Ships—son of the celebrated chieftainess and dauntless sea-rover, Grace O'Malley, better known by the title, Granu-Weal (Graine-ni-Mhaile)—claimed the title and estates of MacWilliam Burke, in opposition to Theobald, son of Walter Kittagh. By the aid of Sir Conyers Clifford and O'Conor Sligo, this claim was established, in a forcible manner, by the expulsion of Walter, who fled to O'Donnell for protection. [37.] About mid-summer, the chief of Tyrconnell returned with a great hosting to Connaught and re-established Walter in his patrimony. After this, he compelled the principal men to deliver hostages and pledges for their future submission. [38.] Notwithstanding, on O'Donnell's departure, the governor of Connaught, Toby of the Ships and O'Conor Sligo mustered their forces and obliged Walter to surrender possession of the territory he had so briefly occupied. An attempt, however, to intercept Walter and Rory O'Donnell, on their retreat to Donegal, was prevented by the address and sudden evolutions of these fugitives.

[39.] Through instigation of Sir William Russell and the treachery of a relative, the famous Fiagh MacHugh O'Byrne was betrayed into English hands, and put to death in the month of May. For twenty years, during the wars of Elizabeth, this gallant chief of Glenmalur had frequently fought with and defeated the queen's forces. His sons, Felim and Redmond, also became distinguished, as partisan leaders. [40.] On the 22nd of this month, Thomas, Lord Borough, displaced Sir



William Russell as chief justiciary. Soon after being appointed to this office, with supreme military and civil authority, the new viceroy assumed command of her majesty's forces, and sent Sir John Norris to govern Munster in conjunction with his brother. [41.] Lord Borough mustered a large force of the Meath and Leinster loyalists, to engage in a northern campaign. Towards the close of July, he moved forward from Drogheda and crossed the Blackwater. On its banks, he erected a strong fort, called Portmore, in which he placed a garrison of 800 men. [42.] O'Neill, recovering from his first surprise, drew his forces together between Benburb and Portmore. Having attacked the English, after a fierce conflict, he drove them in disorder across the Blackwater river, at a place known as Battleford bridge. Here, besides those slain in the field, numbers were drowned. The lord justice suffered a total loss of 800 men, and an immense booty fell into possession of the victors. From Newry the lord justice and his forces retreated to Dublin.

[43.] Meantime, the governor of Connaught had been directed to join in a concerted movement against O'Donnell. On the 24th of July, the government forces of that province assembled at Boyle and advanced towards Sligo. After considerable opposition from the Irish, Sir Conyers Clifford crossed the Erne, near Belleek, and laid siege to Ballyshannon Castle. For three days, the besiegers with heavy ordnance played on its walls. Bravely was the fortress defended for O'Donnell.

by its small garrison of eighty men, until the scattered forces of Tyrconnell marched to their relief. [44.] A series of well directed assaults brought consternation and defeat amongst the invading army, whose means of subsistence and communication became hourly more imperilled. The governor and his captain, having spent the whole night previous in a council of war, took the resolution of retiring at break of day, on the 15th of August, by a ford on the Erne, above Assaroe. Here the current was so strong, that numbers of soldiers and attendants, with horses and baggage, were swept over the cataract and carried out to sea. The retreating army, pursued by O'Donnell's people across the river, was dispersed within a few days, through the province of Connaught. Three hundred of the English were either slain or drowned at that ford on the Erne, known by the Irish name, Casan-na-gCuradh—in English, *the Path of the Heroes*. The result of this bootless expedition of their invaders was justly regarded as a great triumph by the people of Tyrconnell.

[45.] O'Neill, in his turn, could now afford to become the assailant. He laid siege to the new fortress of Portmore; but the lord justice marched to its relief, and succeeded in his attempt to reinforce it with men and to supply it with provisions. [46.] On his return, the lord justice was attacked by O'Neill and severely wounded. Greatly harassed along their line of march, the English escaped to Newry, where the lord justice died of his wounds. The sword of state was then entrusted

for keeping to the lord chancellor, Adam Loftus, Protestant archbishop of Dublin, and to the chief justice of the queen's bench, Sir Robert Gardiner, until a new deputy could be appointed in England. Earl Ormond was placed as director over military affairs.

[47.] One of the most brilliant actions of this war was accomplished by Captain Tyrrell, who had been despatched in summer by Hugh O'Neill to create a diversion in Leinster, whilst the English forces of Meath had been called off to assist in the Ulster campaign. Having been joined by young O'Connor Faly, 1,000 soldiers of the queen, under the guidance of Barnwall, son of Baron Trimlestown, marched against the small force commanded by Tyrrell. Led into an ambuscade at a place since known as Tyrrell's Pass, in Westmeath county, the whole English detachment was cut off, and their discomfited leader made a prisoner. Only one of the defeated soldiers got safely clear from the field of carnage; and escaping through a marsh, this fugitive brought the news to Mullingar. Young O'Connor Faly, a warrior of great strength and agility, became renowned for his valour on this occasion.

[48.] Once more, the chieftain of Tyrconnell and his followers precipitated themselves on the province of Connaught. By his usual address and rapid execution, O'Donnell inflicted heavy chastisement on O'Connor Roe, who had leagued with the English party. The provincial governor felt unable to cope with the brilliant movements of

his Tyrconnellian foe. [49.] Hugh Maguire, chieftain of Fermanagh, and Cormac O'Neill, made an inroad on Westmeath, and having wasted the adjoining country, they took Mullingar, pillaged and burned it, before retiring northwards. About All-hallowtide the English governor of Carrickfergus, Sir John Chichester, and three companies of his soldiers, were slain in Clannaboy, by the MacDonnells. At the same time, Theobald MacWilliam Burke returned to his territory and remained within its fastnesses, despite of his enemies; whilst he also plundered the baronies of Murreusk and Burrishoole, in the western part of Mayo county. Captains Tyrrell and Nugent, with the Kavanaghs, O'Byrnes, O'Mores and O'Conors Faly, carried war, plunder and devastation through different counties of Leinster. The territory of Ormond was ravaged. Two bands of soldiers, stationed at Maryborough, were cut to pieces. From the festival of the Blessed Virgin Mary to that of Christmas, these depredations continued. [50.] Danger and dismay loured darkly over the prospects of the queen's supporters, in every quarter of this island; whilst, to the delighted vision of Irish Catholics, their twin stars of patriotism as of chivalry, O'Neill and O'Donnell, rose brightly over the political horizon. For the common cause, with an unanimity and a perseverance, rarely exhibited by leaders in the past struggle of their country, these chieftains worked ably and devotedly to accomplish the objects, on which all efforts were now concentrated. Never were English councils more divided

and irresolute, as to the course it would be necessary to adopt, in reference to this most formidable and constantly growing insurrection. The charges daily accruing we also a cause of considerable anxiety and uneasiness to Elizabeth and her ministers, whilst extraordinary efforts were requisite to replenish the already exhausted resources of the English exchequer.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. Who became distinguished at this period of Irish history?
2. What plot was contrived to capture Hugh Roe O'Donnell?
3. Was it fully accomplished?
4. In what enterprise did Hugh O'Neill now engage?
5. Who succeeded Sir John Perrott?
6. What happened to the Spanish armada on our Irish coasts?
7. What northern incident deserves notice in 1589?
8. What happened in Connaught?
9. What occurred A.D. 1590?
10. Did Hugh Roe O'Donnell and his companions succeed in their adventure?
11. What policy did Hugh O'Neill adopt?
12. How was he treated by the queen?
13. Did O'Neill fulfil the terms of his agreement?
14. How did O'Donnell effect his escape?
15. What took place on his arrival in Tyrconnell?
16. What state of affairs prevailed in the north?
17. What campaign was now undertaken by Sir William Fitzwilliam?
18. What resulted?
19. Who succeeded as lord justice?
20. What course did O'Neill adopt?
21. Did anything remarkable occur in Leinster?

22. How did O'Neill act?
23. How was O'Donnell engaged?
24. Did any important arrival in Ireland take place?
25. What expedition was next directed against the north?
26. How was it met?
27. What occurred in Connaught?
28. Did any reverses happen to the English near Monaghan?
29. What enterprise was undertaken by O'Donnell?
30. What English views of policy towards the Irish were entertained?
31. How did Elizabeth act?
32. Who was distinguished in Leix at this time?
33. What happened in Ulster?
34. Had this any influence on the Leinster chiefs?
35. How did O'Donnell's next Connaught campaign eventuate?
36. What occurrences deserve a passing notice in the west, at this period?
37. Did O'Donnell permit these proceedings?
38. What happened on his departure to Tyrconnell?
39. What took place in Leinster?
40. Who became the next chief justice?
41. What was his first exploit?
42. Did it prove effective?
43. How was the chief justice supported in Connaught?
44. What disasters overtook the English forces?
45. What was the next attempt of O'Neill?
46. What followed?
47. Describe the English defeat at Tyrrell's Pass.
48. Was O'Donnell unemployed at this period?
49. What other successes crowned the Irish arms?
50. What was the actual condition of affairs for the Irish government and natives of this island?

## LESSON XXVI.

Negotiations for a treaty—War renewed—Insurrection in Leinster—Campaign in the North—Victory of Beal-an-atha-buy—Ouny Mac Rory O'More, Captain Tyrrell, and Redmond Burke engage the English—War in the South—The Earl of Essex's expedition—Its total failure in Leinster and Munster—O'Donnell's great victory in the Curliou Mountains—Truce between O'Neill and the Earl of Essex.\*

[1.] As national prospects brightened, and the dread of foreign invasion impended, it was deemed expedient to try the effect of negotiations with the victorious chieftains of Ulster. Already had

\* Authorities for Irish history at this period are:—O'Sullivan Beare's *Historiæ Catholicæ Ibernix Compendium*; O'Conor's *Military Memoirs of the Irish Nation*; Harrington's *Nugæ Antiquæ*; *Original Letters and Papers in illustration of the History of the Church in Ireland* (temp. Edward VI. and Elizabeth), by E. P. Shirley; Messrs. John D'Alton's and J. R. O'Flanagan's *History of Dundalk and its Environs*. In the Bodleian Library of Oxford, and in other public libraries of that ancient seat of learning, there are various MSS., as also in the public libraries of Cambridge; in many of the Episcopal and Parochial Collections of various Cathedral and Parish Churches; and in many of the Colleges in England, Ireland and Scotland, documents are preserved which throw more or less light on the transactions of Irish History, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth and the times of subsequent English sovereigns and rulers. The Clarendon MSS. (formerly belonging to Sir James Ware), preserved in the British Museum are especially valuable for illustration, not only for these, but also, for much earlier periods of Irish history. The same observation will apply to the MSS. in Trinity Col-

the Earls of Ormond and Thomond sought an interview with O'Neill and O'Donnell, who agreed to provisions of a treaty, which, by a special stipulation, must previously be submitted to the queen. [2.] Pending her decision, it was arranged a truce should continue in force to the month of May, 1598. The Earl of Thomond and the Baron of Dunkellin went to England, probably on business connected with the treaty then under consideration. Elizabeth required certain modifications in the demands made by the Irish chieftains. Accordingly, on the 15th of March, another conference was held with O'Neill. The predatory bands of Leinster insurgents were restrained with great difficulty, during the progress of these negotiations. [3.] O'Neill haughtily rejected the queen's overtures. Her majesty was induced to grant still more favourable concessions. She offered a full pardon for his past proceedings, in a royal letter, which was dated April 11th, 1598, and this instrument had the great seal of Ireland affixed. However, the northern dynast broke off these negotiations; and, having lost no opportunity of strengthening his alliances and positions during the truce, he now prepared for a vigorous prosecution of the war.

[4.] Several English soldiers, having arrived as a reinforcement in the south of Ireland, were

lege Library, Marsh's Library, &c., Dublin, as may be seen by consulting the folio volume, *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum collecti, cum Indice Alphabetico*. Printed at Oxford, A.D. 1697.



attacked by a party of Irish, when over 400 of their number were slain. An aggression, on the territories of Leix by the Earl of Ormond's forces, resulted in their discomfiture by the O'Mores. After this defeat thus given, and on the very same day, Ounry Mac Rory O'More, Captain Tyrrell and Redmond Burke encamped opposite Ormond's position. The earl, fearing to encounter them, withdrew to Kilkenny, and sent his soldiers into garrisons.

[5.] No sooner had the last truce expired, than O'Neill, in the north of Ireland, sat down with his army before the English fort on the Blackwater, defended by Captain Williams. Having drawn lines of circumvallation and formed trenches around, all approaches to the garrison were carefully guarded. Already the besieged suffered from the pangs of hunger. [6.] At length, the Irish council resolved on sending the marshal, Sir Henry Bagnal, to relieve the beleagured garrison, at the head of a well-appointed army, consisting, in infantry and cavalry, of about 5,000 men. From Drogheda he marched to Dundalk, thence to Newry, and afterwards, meeting opposition, on to Armagh, where his troops rested for the night. [7.] Meantime, Ormond considered it advisable to march with another division of the English army to repress the Leinster Irish, whose daring advances seemed to bode danger to the very metropolis itself. Having attempted to victual the fort at Maryborough, Ormond was attacked by Ounry Mac Rory O'More, Captain Tyr-

rell and Redmond Burke. The earl himself was wounded, and escaped with difficulty, after losing many men and horses, besides a quantity of arms.

[8.] O'Neill and O'Donnell, having united their forces, selected a strong position near the river Callan, at a place called Beal-an-atha-buy,\* about two miles north of Armagh city. Bogs and woods afforded protection on either side, and the Ulster generals had posted their men, in the best possible order, to receive the expected onset.

[9.] Before sunrise on Monday morning, August 14th, the English army, with its six regiments of infantry and its squadron of cavalry, marched forward towards the Blackwater, in all the parade and panoply of military movement.

[10.] Scarcely had they advanced half-a-mile, when skirmishers annoyed them on either flank. Nothing daunted, however, Bagnal's veterans rushed onwards to assail the Irish defences; but after a gallant struggle, the English van was driven back by a well-sustained charge. By accident, an ammunition waggon exploded in the centre of the English army, and carried wide-spread destruction around; whilst, by a combined movement, O'Neill and O'Donnell poured in their forces, on the front and flanks of their enemies. Marshal Bagnal fell lifeless, pierced through the brain by a musket ball. O'Neill then made a dashing charge, with a small body of horse, followed by pikemen. Maelmuire O'Reilly vainly endeavoured to rally the routed English, and he was slain in making that

\* In English, *Mouth of the Yellow Ford*

effort. [11.] In headlong confusion, the invaders fled towards Armagh, closely pursued by the exulting Irish. The English cavalry fled to Dundalk, followed by Terence O'Hanlon. With the loss of their general and 23 officers, with rank and file variously estimated at from 1,500 to 2,500, most of the survivors found refuge within the walls of Armagh. O'Sullivan computes the Irish loss, at less than 200 killed and over 600 wounded. Never before had the Irish achieved so important a victory, over the English forces.

[12.] In a few days afterwards, the garrisons of Portmore and Armagh capitulated. On leaving behind them their arms, ammunition and provisions, the English soldiers were escorted to Newry, and thence to the pale boundaries. O'Neill supposed Armagh had a larger quantity of provisions than it really possessed; whilst he was aware, that an English reinforcement of 2,000 men was daily expected at Lough Foyle. It is probable his own commissariat was but scantily supplied. Such considerations possibly induced him to avoid the delay and risk of a siege. We are unacquainted with the exigencies—for they must have existed—which prevented this able leader from following up his great victory. Instead of marching towards Dublin, he retired upon Dungannon, whilst the Ulster chiefs, and their troops, who supported him, dispersed to their several stations.

[13.] In the month of August, O'Neill wrote to Ounry Mac Rory O'More, Captain Tyrrell and Redmond Burke, to leave a sufficient guard in the

midland parts of Leinster; then proceeding themselves to make conquests, they were required to bring over some of the adverse chiefs and territories to their cause, either by solicitations or force. [14.] Acting on such instructions, these Leinster leaders penetrated into Ossory and both Ormonds, whilst the people of these territories, elated by a prospect of succeeding in their rebellion, took up arms, and poured southwards upon the districts of Desmond. Sir Thomas Norris fled from Kilmallock to Cork on their approach. The Geraldines hailed their new deliverers, with welcome and support; soon was the insurrection widely spread throughout that part of the country. In every direction, the castles and houses of English undertakers were demolished, their farms plundered, and themselves were either slain or obliged to fly for refuge, towards the nearest strongholds.

[15.] Earl Ormond, with a force of infantry and cavalry, marched towards Kilmallock, where he had requested the Lord President of Munster to meet him, for the purpose of preventing these ravages with their united forces. But the Irish army advanced to encounter them, with great bravery and determination; so that these English leaders deemed it more prudent to retire upon Mallow, in the first instance. Thence the Lord President, Sir Thomas Norris, retreated to Cork, whilst Ormond was obliged to return to his own territory. [16.] By authority of O'Neill, the title, Earl of Desmond, was conferred on the son

of Thomas Roe, named James Fitzgerald, called the Sugane, or Straw-rope Earl, by the English, in order to express their contempt. With exception of Castlemaine, Mallow and Askeaton Castles, all the other strongholds of Desmond fell into possession of the newly-installed leader. Captain Tyrrell remained to organise the Irish forces in Munster, as numbers of the chiefs and people then daily flocked to his standard. Towards the close of autumn, Ounoy O'More set out for Leix; Redmond Burke proceeded to Ormond; whilst some Ulster troops returned to their own province, loaded with wealth and booty.

[17.] Enraged at the disasters now falling heavily on her Irish establishment, and pressing on resources of the English crown, Elizabeth wrote angry letters to her council in Dublin. She resolved on sending over Sir Richard Bingham—formerly of infamous notoriety in Connaught—at the head of 8,000 men, until her favourite, the Earl of Essex, would be ready to leave England with a still larger army. [18.] Bingham, however, died soon after his arrival in Ireland; when Sir Samuel Bagnal, with the 2,000 soldiers originally destined for Lough Foyle, came to Dublin, bearing the rank of marshal. In the western parts of Ireland, Hugh O'Donnell made a successful inroad upon the territories of Clanrickard, driving off cattle, and taking an immense booty, which had been surrendered to him without any serious opposition, although numbers of hired soldiers guarded those districts.

[19.] Whilst O'Neill and O'Donnell were engaged in strengthening their power and alliances, not only in the northern province, but even in other portions of Ireland, the governor of Connaught and the Earl of Thomond were actively employed in promoting English interests, through the western parts of this island. [20.] At length, with a splendidly appointed army of 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse, the Earl of Essex landed in Ireland, as Lord Lieutenant, on the 15th of April, 1599, having been sworn into office on the same day. [21.] Instead of following up his original intention, and those instructions given by the English privy council, to advance against the Ulster chieftains, this earl resolved, in the first instance, on proceeding southwards to quell the unruly Geraldines. Having issued several proclamations, soon after his arrival in Dublin, urging upon the Irish submission to Elizabeth, with a promise of pardon for past offences, and offering to restore their mansions and partrimonies to chiefs, who would be able to prove they had been unjustly dispossessed by Englishmen, he despatched reinforcements to the garrisons of Carrickfergus, Newry, Drogheda, Dundalk, Naas, Wicklow and other towns. The Irish appear to have distrusted or despised the offers held out to them; as few, we are told, responded to these proclamations. [22.] Wherefore, Essex, marching southwards with 7,000 men, was attacked in the midland parts of Leinster by Ounry Mac Rory O'More and his confederates. A great number of the English

soldiers were slain at a place, afterwards known as Bearn-na-gCleti,\* owing to the number of plumes taken as trophies by the Irish from military casques, after this battle had terminated.

[23.] Greatly harassed, Essex reached Earl Ormond's territories, where, joined by the Butlers, the castle of Cahir, county Tipperary, was taken after a stubborn resistance. The president of Munster had been expecting the arrival of the English army in Kilmallock. In a skirmish, with the Irish, he fell mortally wounded. From Cahir, Essex and his forces went to Limerick, where he was met by the governor of Connaught, Sir Conyers Clifford, with the Earls of Thomond and Clanrickard. After some consultation held, the governor and Clanrickard returned to Connaught, whilst the Earls of Essex, Ormond and Thomond resolved, with united forces, to chastise the rebellious Geraldines of Munster.

[24.] On the second night after departing from Limerick, the English forces encamped on the banks of the river Maigue. On the following day, the Geraldine bands began to press upon them, when great numbers of Essex's soldiers were cut off, before the invaders could encamp, a little eastwards from Askeaton. A supply of ammunition having been conveyed to that garrison, Essex deemed it necessary to return; but his army was again attacked by the Irish, when Sir

\* Anglice, *Gap of the Feathers*. Tradition appears to have preserved no reliable clue for guiding Irish historians to the exact locality of this memorable action.

Henry Norris and many of his soldiers were killed. Having fallen back on Kilmallock, he afterwards retreated to Fermoy, Lismore, Dungarvan and Waterford. [25.] From the latter city, he marched through the Butlers' country into Leinster. On his way through the latter province, insurgents of various districts which he passed hung around his track, and succeeded in destroying a great number of his troops, before he had reached the walls of Dublin. This futile expedition disappointed the expectations entertained by all the queen's adherents, and rumours, disadvantageous to Essex's military qualifications, were soon circulated beyond the Irish Channel.

The Earl of Thomond separated from the lord lieutenant at Dungarvan, and returned to Limerick. [26.] O'Connor Sligo also sought refuge within his fortified castle at Coloony, in the month of July. Here he was soon afterwards closely besieged by Hugh Roe O'Donnell. [27.] When the Earl of Essex heard of this proceeding, he despatched messengers to Sir Conyers Clifford, commanding this governor to meet him at Fircall. His order was executed with much difficulty and considerable loss; but the result of this interview was an instruction given by Essex, for Clifford's advance from Athlone direct to Coloony, with some additional soldiers furnished by the Earl. Meantime, Theobald-na-long was directed to sail northwards with his vessels from Galway, and round the coast to Sligo, taking with him on board a good store of provisions, and machines to



erect a strong castle, at the latter place. This town was intended to serve as a secure barrier against future incursions of the Ulster Irish.

[28.] Having left his kinsman, Niall Garv, to carry on the siege, O'Donnell directed another of his battalions to watch the motions of Theobald-nalong with his ships, and to prevent him from landing, or, at least, from going to the relief of Coloony. With the remainder of his forces, the chief of Tyrconnell selected a favourable position at Ballaghyboy, in the Curlien mountains. There he awaited Clifford's approach, at the head of an imposing military array, comprising over 2,000 soldiers, bearing twenty-eight standards. [29.] The eve of August 15th was spent in religious preparation, for the ensuing festival of the Blessed Virgin, by O'Donnell and his troops. Mass was publicly celebrated, whilst the Irish general and his soldiers assisted with great devotion, Holy Communion having been administered to many penitents. Afterwards, assembling his men, O'Donnell addressed them in an animated and a patriotic harangue. Then, having had notice from his spies of an immediate advance by the English from Boyle Abbey, his Irish troops were advantageously posted amongst the mountain passes.

[30.] Confident of success, the governor of Connaught marched forward, but met with an obstinate resistance from the Irish outposts, who, however, retired on their main body. This battle began about four o'clock in the afternoon, on the 15th of August. As the English advanced

through a narrow defile, the Irish, numerically inferior, poured down upon their enemies with desperate courage and vigour, until the wings of the advancing army were driven in upon their centre, and a total rout began to ensue. [31.] In vain did the English leaders endeavour to rally their flying troops ; whilst, during this effort, some of their bravest captains fell mortally wounded. The governor, seeing all hope of retrieving this terrible disaster at an end and enraged at the bad conduct of his troops, furiously sprang from the arms of friends, who thought to bear him by force from the field of battle. He rushed alone against the pursuing foe, and was pierced through the body with a spear. O'Roorke arrived opportunely to join in this pursuit and slaughter of the English army, during their retreat upon Boyle. [32.] Arms and military stores fell into the hands of the Irish, who, according to O'Sullivan, counted only 140 of their men in killed and wounded, whilst the queen's army lost ten times that number. [33.] After this battle, Clifford's decapitated trunk was left stretched on the field by O'Roorke ; although the Irish felt regret and respect for their chivalrous and honourable foe, owing to his established character for strict integrity, justice and humanity. His body was decently interred, in an island on Lough Key, county Roscommon. With such an inequality of numbers and warlike appliances, the Irish attributed this splendid victory to a special intervention of Heaven, and gratefully returned thanks to God and to the Blessed Virgin Mary, on this her glorious festival day.

[34.] The head of Sir Conyers Clifford was brought to Coloony, and exhibited as a token of this remarkable victory to O'Connor Sligo, who immediately, on seeing it, submitted to O'Donnell. The chief of Tyrconnell generously allowed O'Connor to retain possession of his territory, and even supplied him with presents of horses, cattle and other necessaries. Theobald-na-long, also, professed friendship towards O'Donnell, and was then permitted to sail back with his fleet towards Galway.

[35.] Recriminatory letters having been despatched from Elizabeth to the Earl of Essex, who had demanded a fresh reinforcement from England; at the head of less than 2,000 troops, this general marched towards the frontiers of Ulster. [36.] On arriving at the river Lagan, near the boundaries of Louth and Monaghan, he found an army, commanded by O'Neill, drawn up on the opposite hills. The chieftain of Tyrone asked the Earl of Essex to meet him in a conference, on the banks of this stream, which ran between both armies. With due precaution taken, and without other hearers on either side, the conversation of both leaders lasted for nearly an hour. [37.] It was again renewed, with the addition of six distinguished men belonging to each party. O'Neill demanded, as the conditions of lasting peace, that the Catholic religion should be tolerated in Ireland; that himself, O'Donnell, and the lately-appointed Earl of Desmond, should enjoy the estates and privileges of their ancestors; that, as a security, half the

army in Ireland should consist of Irishmen; and that the principal judges and officials should be natives of this country. Their conference was held in the month of September. It was finally agreed that, until the 1st of May ensuing, a truce should take place; whilst, in the meantime, a politic proviso of O'Neill was allowed, that either party might elect to renew this war, after giving the other a fortnight's notice. [38.] Suddenly, Essex took the resolution of leaving Ireland, without even obtaining the queen's permission, and this too at a time when English affairs remained in a most disordered condition. Whilst foreign jurisdiction scarcely extended beyond the walls of a few garrisoned towns, the Irish Chieftains appear to have generally repossessed themselves of their ancient possessions, and to have ruled without control within these limits. Profound tranquillity reigned throughout the province of Ulster, during the close of 1599. The heroic dynasts of Tyrone and Tyrconnell earned fame and respect for their military achievements, not only throughout the full extent of Elizabeth's dominions, but even amongst the most distant nations on the Continent of Europe.

## QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What course was now adopted?
2. What provisions were made?
3. Were they agreeable to O'Neill?
4. What followed in the more southern parts of Ireland?
5. Describe O'Neill's first operations.
6. Who was sent to oppose him?
7. How did Ormond fare?

8. What were the dispositions of O'Neill and O'Donnell?
9. How did Bagnal advance?
10. Relate the principal incidents of the battle of Beal-an-atha-buy.
11. What were the results?
12. How did O'Neill follow up this victory?
13. What measures did he recommend the Leinster insurgents to take?
14. What followed?
15. How were the English employed?
16. What successes attended the Irish arms?
17. What measures were next taken by the English queen and council?
18. State the consequences.
19. What took place in Ulster and Connaught?
20. Who appeared in Ireland, A.D. 1599?
21. What were his first acts?
22. What military operations did he essay?
23. With what results were they attended?
24. Narrate the progress of Essex in the South.
25. What happened in Leinster?
26. What occurred in Connaught?
27. How did Essex direct western affairs?
28. What measures were taken by O'Donnell to meet his opponents?
29. What preparations were made for the battle of Bal-laghboy by the Irish?
30. How did this engagement commence?
31. What was the issue?
32. What advantages accrued to the Irish?
33. How did they act on ascertaining the death of Sir Conyers Clifford?
34. What occurred after this victory?
35. How was this disagreeable intelligence received in England?
36. What occurred on the borders of Ulster?
37. What conditions did O'Neill require?
38. In what condition did the Earl of Essex leave Ireland on his departure for England?

## LESSON XXVII.

Appointment of Lord Mountjoy as lord deputy and Sir George Carew as lord president of Munster—O'Neill proceeds southwards—Military operations in Munster and Leinster—O'Donnell's expeditions—Landing of the Spaniards at Kinsale—O'Donnell and O'Neill march to their assistance—Battle at Kinsale—Defeat of the Irish and Spaniards—O'Donnell embarks for Spain—Resistance of O'Sullivan Beare—Siege of Dunboy Castle—Death of Hugh Roe O'Donnell—The war in Ulster—Retreat of O'Sullivan Beare to Leitrim—Submission of O'Neill.\*

So far, Irish prospects seemed sufficiently encouraging, and gave the Catholics of this country every reason to indulge in even more hopeful an-

\* The following works will be found useful for illustrating the events recorded in this present lesson: viz. *Pacata Hibernia*; or, *A History of the Wars in Ireland, during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*; *Dunboy*: a poem, by T. D. O'Sullivan; Taylor's *History of the University of Dublin*; Heron's *Constitutional History of the University of Dublin*; *The Last Earl of Desmond*; an *Historical Romance of 1599-1603*; Brady's *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross*. Since the previous chapters of this work had been written, two very valuable accessions to Irish History have appeared, viz., Rev. Sylvester Malone's *Church History of Ireland*, and Rev. Dr. Todd's *Life of St. Patrick*. They have collateral allusions to Queen Elizabeth's reign, although chiefly referring to earlier periods of our History. There are many Irish poems and records of the Elizabethian period of Irish history preserved in the Royal Irish Academy Library. Those productions, called forth by the contention of bards belonging to Leath Chuinn and Leath Mogha, reveal many curious particulars of contemporaneous biography and local incidents, customs and objects.

ticipations for the future. [1.] Essex having fallen into disgrace, a new deputy, Sir Charles Blunt, Lord Mountjoy, was appointed his successor, whilst Sir George Carew had been nominated to fill a vacant office, as lord president of Munster. Both of these men were admirably qualified to meet those exigencies and obstructions, which restricted governmental progress, in subjugating Irish Catholics. These had been long expecting succour from abroad. [2.] But an English fleet, which conveyed a well appointed force of over 6,000 men, with small arms, ordnance and ammunition, required no ordinary vigilance and precaution to counteract their efforts, on the part of Irish leaders. During the month of February, 1600, Lord Mountjoy landed at Howth, and next day proceeded to Dublin, where he was obliged to remain for some time, in order to regulate state affairs, as also to collect and distribute his forces, preparatory to his meditated campaign.

[3.] Having already kept up communication with the Geraldines in Munster, and promised to march upon their territories, O'Neill fulfilled his engagements, by starting southwards, in the month of January, and at the head of 3,000 soldiers. Advancing by way of Westmeath to the gates of Athlone, he exacted submission from all those who favoured the English party, and secured the alliance of others, more favourably disposed towards him. Crossing the Slieve Bloom mountains, and severely chastising some of the O'Carrolls of Ely, who had incurred his displeasure, the chief of Ty-

rone and his bands passed through Roscrea and Templemore on to Holy Cross Abbey, where these Ulstermen were permitted by its monks, to venerate that sacred relic of the true cross, retained in their possession. [4.] At Cashel, O'Neill was joined by the Earl of Desmond, who had been appointed to that title by the chief of Tyrone. Westwards, across the Suir, they proceeded together, laying waste the property of Lord Barry, who had declared for the queen. Having encamped at Inniscarra, between the rivers Lee and Bandon, about the beginning of March, all the southern chieftains, with few exceptions, made their offers of submission in person or sent tokens thereof to O'Neill. For the twenty days he remained here, eighteen hostages of the Munster chiefs were delivered to his safe keeping. He was also busily occupied in endeavouring to settle and reconcile all conflicting interests. [5.] During the interval, Hugh Maguire, chieftain of Fermanagh, who had directed a foraging party through the neighbouring country, was attacked by Sir Warham St. Leger and mortally wounded. But before his fall, Maguire left his adversary dead on the field, having been transfixd with a stroke from the Irish chieftain's lance.

[6.] Giving certain instructions to the Earls of Ormond and Thomond, to guard all passages across the Shannon, the lord deputy made a fruitless effort to intercept O'Neill's return to the north. This able chieftain succeeded by timely and rapid marches in regaining Tyrone, without meeting



the slightest obstacle. [7.] Soon afterwards, Ounry Mac Rory O'More made the Earl of Ormond prisoner, but again liberated him, at the request of O'Neill; the captor having stipulated to receive £8,000, as a ransom. [8.] In the month of May, a fleet, conveying 4,200 infantry and cavalry, with a large supply of military stores and other necessaries, entered Lough Foyle. This expedition, which was commanded by Sir Henry Docura, had been intended to effect a lodgment in that part of the north, to prevent the frequent inroads of O'Donnell on other parts of Ireland. These troops constructed a fort at Culmore, but they resolved on making Derry their principal station. Here they began to erect houses and fortifications, whilst the attention of O'Neill and O'Donnell had been drawn off in another direction; for Mountjoy made a feint of entering Tyrone, by way of the Blackwater. [9.] When the lord deputy returned to Dublin, the Irish chieftains were left free to besiege the new settlers, who were for a long time pent up within their walls, exposed to much privation and illness. Wearied with this state of comparative inaction, O'Donnell left his cousin Niall Garv and O'Dogherty, chief of Inishowen, to continue the siege, whilst, with a large array of followers, the Prince of Tyrconnell set out on an expedition, against the Earls of Thomond and Clanrickard. After plundering and burning their possessions, during this rapid incursion, he again returned to the north, where his troops gained several advantages, over the beleagured garrison of Derry.

A variety of military movements and constant skirmishes took place between the English and Irish, during this summer. [10.] The lord president had concocted a base plot to secure the Earl of Desmond as his prisoner, chiefly through the instrumentality of Miler Magrath, the apostate archbishop of Cashel. Having gained over to his purposes one Dermot O'Connor, who commanded 1,400 Connaught mercenaries in the service of Desmond, the latter chieftain was actually arrested in the name of O'Neill, by one of his own captains, on pretence of treason to the national cause. It was even attempted to substantiate this charge against the earl and his brother John, by the production of some counterfeit correspondence. However, before the plot was consummated, Desmond was rescued by his friends, whilst Dermot O'Connor and his followers were obliged to seek refuge within their own province. Another villanous attempt to assassinate Desmond's brother John, and which was likewise planned by Sir George Carew, had been essayed ; but the intending assassin was seized and executed. Before his execution, this unfortunate wretch declared, that the lord president had hired several other persons, who were sworn to make a similar attempt.

[11.] In the month of July, the castle of Glin, on the banks of the Shannon, was battered down by Carew and Earl Thomond. They put its defenders to the sword, including even some women and children, that had taken refuge within it. This capture was attended with important results, to

the queen's people ; for the Irish in terror fled to remote and inaccessible places, having previously demolished their houses and castles. Numbers also deserted the standard of Desmond and made submission to the queen's representatives.

[12.] All the territories and towns of Leix had been secured by their brave hereditary chieftain, Ouny Mac Rory O'More, with the single exception of Maryborough, which had been fortified by the English. During this period of his rule, agriculture flourished and manifest improvements had been effected, when Mountjoy dispatched his myrmidons, with instructions to devastate these fertile fields, by cutting down the unripe corn, thus depriving the natives of their means of subsistence. The lord deputy directed these uncivilized usages of warfare, with complete success ; and on the 17th of August, O'More happened to fall in a fierce battle, fought on the borders of his domains. Leix was immediately seized by the English : its dilapidated mansions or castles were repaired and afterwards inhabited by strangers. [13.] In like manner, the people of Offaly were driven to Ulster and other provinces, where they were afforded a shelter and refuge. The lord deputy had ripped up with harrows or mowed down the ripe and unripe corn-crops of their promising and abundant harvests. This conduct led soon afterwards to frightful distress and famine, which carried off numbers of the Irish people.

[14.] To counterbalance these direful visitations

on the doomed inhabitants of Leix and Offaly, Redmond Burke carried on a work of retribution within the adjoining territories of Ely and Ormond, which he devastated. There he also took many castles from the English. [15.] Young James, the son of Gerald, late Earl of Desmond, had been detained as a hostage at the English court. He had been brought up and instructed in the reformed creed. The queen directed to Sir George Carew letters patent, confirmatory of this young nobleman's paternal title and inheritance, but only to be used as occasion might require. On the 14th of October, the youthful aspirant landed at Youghal, whence he proceeded towards Mallow. Here he was accompanied to the town of Kilmallock, by the lord president, Miler Magrath, Protestant archbishop of Cashel, and by Boyle, afterwards the celebrated earl of Cork. Popular enthusiasm was raised to its highest pitch, and with general acclaim this young noble was recognized, as rightful heir to the earldom of Desmond. [16.] However, on the day following his arrival, which happened to be Sunday, this young earl having attended Protestant service, execrations and reproaches were showered on him in the Irish language by multitudes, who had previously received him with blessings and greetings. The unhappy youth afforded no further likelihood of detaching these people from fealty to the Sugane Earl. Wherefore, the queen's representatives thought it advisable to send him back to London, where a few months afterwards his death occurred.

[17.] A hosting was undertaken by Mountjoy, in the month of September: he proceeded northwards to meet O'Neill, at Moyry Pass, on the boundaries of Louth and Armagh. Here, attempting to force this pass, O'Neill gave the lord deputy a very warm reception, and forced him to retreat, after killing numbers of his gentlemen, officers, recruits and attendants. The English also lost horses, arms, accoutrements and other necessities, after this conflict. In the month of October, however, Mountjoy, taking advantage of O'Neill's remissness, marched through this defile; but having been headed by the strategic Tyrone chieftain, the lord deputy was obliged to retreat once more. Embarking at Carlingford, in some vessels, he thus effected his escape to Dublin.

[18.] About this time, also, O'Donnell had made preparations to renew his incursions upon the province of Connaught. Feeling secure in the loyalty of his cousin Niall Garv, and little suspecting that English influence and promises could have the effect of disturbing friendly and family relations, the chieftain of Tyrconnell entrusted his subordinate with a direction of affairs, during his own absence. What was his surprise, however, when intelligence was brought him of Niall's defection! Having seized on Lifford and delivered it to the English, Niall Garv supplied their forces with an abundance of fresh meat and whatever necessities they required. An offer, to elevate Niall to the lordship of Tyrconnell, was the price of this treason. [19.] Burning with indignation,

on receiving news of his perfidy, O'Donnell returned and laid close siege to Lifford, for the space of thirty days. Having repulsed some sallies of the besieged, O'Donnell was obliged to select a secure and sheltered position, on the western brink of the river Finn, where he formed an entrenched camp. Two Spanish ships, laden with money, arms and ammunition, destined for the northern Irish, arrived off the western coast. This news was speedily communicated to O'Neill, who thereupon hastened to Donegal. The necessaries for warfare, carried on board these ships, were distributed in equal portions between the chiefs and adherents of Tyrone and Tyrconnell.

[20.] Whilst Niall Garv in the north rendered valuable assistance to Sir Henry Docura's command, the Burkes of Connaught suffered from a surprise, effected by the Butlers, in Tipperary. Redmond Burke however escaped to Ulster, and soon after marched with a battalion into Earl Clanrickard's territories, which he plundered. An overwhelming force having been collected, the marauders were obliged to fly from that part of the country. In the year 1601, the Earl of Clanrickard died, and was succeeded by his son Rickard, who also rendered effective service to the queen. [21.] In the commencement of this year, John Oge O'Dogherty, chief of Inishowen, died, and O'Donnell had Felim Oge, brother to the former, nominated as successor; but for politic reasons, the English, at Derry, supported the claims of the former chief's young son, afterwards known as the celebrated

Sir Cahir O'Dogherty. O'Donnell seized O'Conor Sligo and his castles, having had just reasons for suspecting that chief's fidelity. The prince of Tyrconnell was also obliged to make head against the young earl of Clanrickard, when the latter was compelled to retreat from Moyburg. The lord deputy having marched against O'Neill, in the month of June, crossed the Blackwater, burning and destroying the crops wherever he came. Mountjoy, however, experienced a check to his progress near Benburb. After planting garrisons in different northern towns, he deemed it prudent to return in the month of August to Dublin. Having proclaimed O'Neill as a traitor, the lord deputy offered a reward of £2,000, to any person who would take him, dead or alive, and £1,000 for his head. An Englishman was hired to assassinate the great northern chief; but, in this attempt, he failed. The large reward offered could not bribe a single Irishman to take the life of this illustrious champion of his country's cause.

[22.] Meantime, the fortunes of Earl Desmond in the south became utterly reduced, to such a low degree, that he was obliged to wander about the country, with a small party, seeking concealment in lonesome huts and caverns. He had sent his brother John and Pierce de Lacy into Ulster, to ask assistance in this deplorable emergency. On a certain occasion, the earl fled from a poor harper's hut, leaving even his mantle behind him, in the hurry to escape from English pursuers. [28.] One of his former adherents, the White Knight,

was obliged to set out in pursuit of this unfortunate fugitive, at the instigation of Sir George Carew. Desmond was soon found concealed within a cave. He was apprehended and afterwards delivered into the lord president's custody, at Cork. Here he was tried for high treason and convicted; but, lest his brother John should be set up as earl after him, through motives of state policy Desmond's life was spared. In company with the celebrated and astute Florence Mac Carthy More, Desmond was sent to London, where both of these chieftains were committed to the Tower, and here they remained until the day of their death.

[24.] From August to November, Captain Tyrrell spread the terror of his name, through the counties of Carlow, Kildare, Tipperary and in the country of Offaly, where he took castles, prisoners and spoils. In Ulster, Niall Garv got possession of Donegal monastery, which was again besieged and taken by O'Donnell, on the last day of September. [25.] A little before this event, a Spanish fleet, conveying about 8,000 infantry, under command of Don Juan del Aguila, landed at Kinsale, and captured this town. Having fortified the castles of Rincorran and Castle-ni-Park, at the entrance to its harbour, and finding no prospect of co-operation from the people of Munster, where the rebellious spirit appeared to have died out, a message was despatched to Ulster, urging the northern chiefs to come and lend assistance to their Spanish allies. [26.] Meantime, the lord deputy, Mountjoy, Sir George Carew and



the Earl of Clanrickard mustered a large force, estimated at from 13,000 to 15,000 men. They sat down before Kinsale, and carried on an active siege. Soon afterwards, the Earl of Thomond, with a fleet, having reinforcements on board, sailed from England to Kinsale harbour. Before the arrival of their Irish allies, the Spaniards made one desperate sally by night, and slew many of their besiegers.

[27.] During the month of November, Rincorran and Castle-ni-Park forts fell into possession of the English. [28.] Meantime, O'Donnell, with a force of Ultonians and Conacians, to the number of 2,500, had started for Kinsale, about the latter end of October. Whilst awaiting the arrival of O'Neill at Ikerrin, in Tipperary, the prince of Tyrconnell received intelligence, that Sir George Carew had encamped in the plains near Cashel, to bar his advance, whilst St. Laurence and an army from the pale were marching towards him, through Leinster. [29.] With his usual celerity of movement and taking advantage of a night's severe frost, the Prince of Tyrconnell was enabled to move his army and baggage over bogs and across Slieve Phelim, by a circuitous route to Croom. He effected this extraordinary march of thirty-two Irish miles, in one day, and on the 23rd of November. He thus escaped the toils of Sir George Carew, who returned to winter his own forces, with those of the lord deputy, before Kinsale. O'Donnell passed on south-westwards, took several castles successively from the English,

and encouraged many of the Irish, in those parts, to try once more their chances in this war.

[30.] On the 1st of December, having breached the wall of Kinsale and attempting to take the town by storm, the English were gallantly repulsed by the Spaniards. On the 8rd, a portion of the Spanish armament, consisting of 700 men, landed at Castlehaven, about twenty-five Irish miles west of Kinsale. These adventurers seized upon the forts of Castlehaven, Baltimore and Dunboy. Some English vessels sailed under the direction of Admiral Sir Richard Levison to attack the Spaniards at Castlehaven, but returned again to Kinsale, with a loss of over 300 men. [31.] The chieftain of Tyrone, who had left Ulster the week after All-Hallowtide, spent some time plundering and burning Meath and Bregia, before he arrived at the river Bandon, where O'Donnell awaited his arrival. [32.] With a force, less than 7,000 strong, the Irish took up an entrenched position, not far from Kinsale, and north of the English army, which numerically was greatly superior and far better equipped. But, in a short time, O'Neill succeeded in cutting off their supplies, whilst sickness and desertion thinned their battalions. Such was the very critical position of Mountjoy, hemmed in by the Irish on one quarter, and by the Spaniards on the other, that he had serious thoughts of raising the siege and thus retiring with his army to winter quarters in Cork.

[33.] Petulance, impatience and incompetency characterised the Spanish commandant and proved

fatal to the important business, on which he had been engaged. Having contrived to convey intelligence to O'Neill, that Kinsale garrison had been reduced to great straits, Don Juan proposed that the Irish should make a night attack on the English forces, thus taking them by surprise, whilst the Spaniards would hold themselves in readiness to co-operate simultaneously from another quarter. The Irish chiefs called a council of war, to deliberate on the propriety of acceding to this proposal. O'Neill altogether dissented from adopting this inconsiderate suggestion; for he felt assured, that a little delay would reduce the English to extremities, and present an opportunity for effecting their total overthrow. But, the natural ardor, bravery and generosity of O'Donnell urged him to take an opposite view; and he advocated an immediate attack, to relieve the Spaniards. Against the matured judgment of O'Neill, this advice was unfortunately adopted, and a plan resolved upon, information of which was privately conveyed to the lord president of Munster, by Brian Mac Mahon, one of the Irish chiefs, who was a member of this council.

[34.] Taking advantage of a very dark night, on the 3rd of January, 1602, (new style), the Irish were marshalled in their divisions, under Captain Tyrrell, O'Neill and O'Donnell. [35.] Frequent flashes of lightning—most unusual at that time of the year—succeeded by obscurity, rendered their course very uncertain, so that the guides missed their way. Morning had dawned, when O'Neill

found himself close upon the enemy's entrenchments, before which the English were marshalled in military array, with their cavalry mounted, and in advance. At this moment, O'Neill's men were in disorder, and no doubt felt confounded at the state of preparation, in which the English lines were discovered. O'Donnell's division had not come up, and it was thus deemed advisable to draw back the Irish advance. The English horse seized on this opportunity, to make a charge, on the disordered masses, which broke their array. O'Neill was wounded in the onset; but his troops were in rapid flight, before O'Donnell's division came to his support. Hugh Roe repulsed a wing of the English cavalry; but he vainly endeavoured by shouts and gestures, to rally the panic-stricken Irish fugitives. For an hour, the unequal and badly supported engagement was maintained, by the broken Irish troops. We are told, however, by the Four Masters, that their number of slain was not very considerable, although the loss of this battle brought ruinous consequences, after their discomfiture. From the town, Don Juan attempted a very ineffective diversion on the English, and the Spaniards were soon obliged to retire within their walls.

[86.] In a hasty consultation of the Irish chiefs, soon after this battle, it was resolved that O'Donnell should sail for Spain, to represent the state of their affairs to King Philip; and accordingly, three days subsequent to this defeat, he sailed in a Spanish ship from Castlehaven, having for com-

panions, Redmond Burke, Hugh Mostyn and Father Florence O'Mulconry. [37.] He landed at Corunna, on the 14th of January. During the period of his sojourn in Spain, O'Donnell received extraordinary demonstrations of respect ; and after a gracious reception by the king, he was assured that the monarch would furnish another armament, to attempt the liberation of Ireland. The Irish chieftain was then directed to return and remain at Corunna, until everything necessary should be prepared and arranged for the starting of this expedition.

[38.] Having left Captain Tyrrell, with some confederates, in Munster, to act under the general orders of Donnell O'Sullivan Beare, a brave and skilful leader, O'Neill, filled with anguish and dejection of mind, for a fatal disaster, which could not be attributed to any mistake on his part, now set out with his dispirited forces towards Ulster. To Rory O'Donnell, brother of Hugh Roe, was delegated the chieftainry of Tyrconnell, during the absence of his illustrious kinsman in Spain. On the 12th of January, the Spanish garrison at Kinsale surrendered on honourable terms, after losing about 1,000 men, whilst a ten weeks' investment of the place continued. The English loss, however, was considerably greater than any the besieged had sustained. Immediately after this surrender of Kinsale, the Earl of Thomond returned to his own territory, where he wreaked vengeance on the O'Brians, who had assisted O'Neill and O'Donnell.

[39.] Soon, however, the Earl of Thomond was

sent from Cork, at the head of 1,250 men, to reconnoitre the position taken up by O'Sullivan Beare in the mountains, between the counties of Cork and Kerry. This chieftain had seized upon the strong castle of Dunboy, near Bantry Bay, and its defence was entrusted to Richard Mageoghegan, with a guard of 143 warders. Having despatched a fleet with ordnance from Cork, the lord president of Munster and Earl Thomond mustered an army of 8,000 men, one half of whom could only be deemed effective. [40.] On the 1st and 2nd of June, the English forces landed on Bear Island, and by the 6th crossed over to the main land, on the western shore of Bearhaven. Having thrown up outworks, the lord president brought his ordnance to bear on Dunboy castle. By the 17th of this month, that fortress was nearly shattered to pieces with cannon balls, when the besieged sent a messenger, asking permission to depart with their arms, provided they would be allowed to surrender. These conditions were refused, and the messenger was immediately hanged.

[41.] When the upper towers and battlements of the castle had been reduced to one mass of ruin, an overwhelming force of English rushed forward, but were met with indomitable resolution, by the handful of brave defenders. Behind every crumbling fragment of masonry and parapet, shot and even stones were hurled against the English, with destructive effect, and with all the hopeless energy of despair. Some thirty warders attempted escape, by leaping from the walls,

and taking to the water ; but they were slain by soldiers stationed there to intercept them in boats. The upper works of Dunboy Castle having been covered with dead bodies of Irish and English, the few wounded and toil-worn defenders surviving were obliged to seek safety in a cellar, which was approached only by a narrow and winding stone stairs. When the Irish governor, Mageoghegan, was mortally wounded, one Thomas Taylor assumed command. The latter threatened to blow up the castle, if the lord president refused quarter to the besieged. The sun at length went down on this scene of slaughter. Some English guards, having been left to watch the movements of their Irish foes, driven into the cellar, all other combatants were withdrawn to their respective encampments.

[42.] Reflecting on the hopeless nature of their conflict, yet trusting to obtain mercy from their ruthless destroyers, twenty-four of the defenders had already yielded. The savage Carew ordered his cannon to play upon the cellar walls, with a view of burying the few native survivors under their ruins. At last, forced by his companions to surrender, Taylor, with forty-eight of the besieged, came forth to deliver themselves. Some English officers having descended to the cellar, the wounded and agonized Mageoghegan seized a lighted candle, attempting, but in vain, to reach an unheaded barrel of gunpowder. This effort was prevented by the English, who killed this brave governor on the instant, and before he

could accomplish his object. The Irish taken prisoners were hanged on the day of their surrender, in the English camp, and some others shared their fate a few days afterwards ; so that not even a single individual of the one hundred and forty-three brave men, who garrisoned Dunboy, survived its destruction. This was finally completed, on the 22nd of June, when its ruined pile was blown up by the gunpowder found within its vaults.

[43.] This merciless conduct of Sir George Carew probably induced the disaffected Irish of Munster to hold out much longer, than they would otherwise have felt warranted in doing ; besides, they had still expectations, that Spain would not leave them to battle alone, in their extremity. [44.] When the lord president returned to Cork, he found that a very seasonable reinforcement of 1,000 soldiers had lately arrived in that harbour ; for he had lost great numbers of men, in the late campaign, owing to fatigue, wounds and sickness. This contingent was followed by 2,000 additional troops, which enabled the English to pursue the stragglers of disheartened Irish septs, into their wild districts of Carberry and Kerry. [45.] Whilst O'Donnell was omitting no opportunity, for urging the despatch of Spanish troops to Ireland, and in his anxiety to forward such an expedition had started on his way to Valladolid, where the King of Spain then resided, this warlike and patriotic chieftain was seized with his last illness, and died at Simancas, on the 10th of September, 1602, at



the early age of twenty-nine. He was interred with extraordinary honours, in the Franciscan monastery at Valladolid, and the Spanish monarch caused a suitable monument to be erected over his remains. His unexpected death and the ill-omened news arriving from Ireland brought irretrievable ruin, on the project, then in course of preparation, for relieving his discomfited countrymen at home. Intelligence of this misfortune, when conveyed to his native country, caused the Irish Catholics to become dispirited and dismayed, at the closing prospects of their long-sustained struggle, in behalf of their religious and national liberties.

[46.] Meantime, Sir Henry Docura, governor of Derry, and the lord deputy, Mountjoy, with supports, amounting to 8,000 men, had been engaged during the summer in active operations, against O'Neill and Rory O'Donnell. Niall Garv was most earnest in rendering assistance to the English, during this campaign, having aided in the taking of Ballyshannon, Devenish and Enniskillen. At Ballaghboy, in the Curliou mountains, and elsewhere, the English sustained more than one defeat, from Rory O'Donnell and O'Connor Sligo. [47.] Mountjoy at last devastated the territory of Tyrone, and left this whole country a prey to the most horrible famine; so that thousands of persons perished miserably, from starvation. With a reduced band, comprising 600 foot and 60 horse, O'Neill still contrived to maintain a defensive attitude, near Lough Erne, whilst sup-

ported by the O'Rookes, in this almost forlorn state of his declining fortunes. Mountjoy employed himself in planting garrisons, at various important points in Ulster, and these settlements materially weakened O'Neill's defensive means, within that seat of his former power. Yet, even in this dilemma, the English queen and cabinet yet regarded the chieftain of Tyrone, as their most formidable opponent.

[48.] After the loss of Dunboy Castle, Donnell O'Sullivan and his clansmen had been obliged to shelter themselves amongst their mountain fastnesses, in the south-western parts of Ireland. Tracked and hunted like wild beasts, and pressed on every side, by his unrelenting adversaries, O'Sullivan was at last deserted by the brave Captain Tyrrell. After enduring numberless privations, on the last day of December, the chief of Bear and Bantry led his followers, men, women, and children, to the number of 1,000 persons, from the wilds of Glengariff, on to Ballyvourney, Ardpatrik, Latteragh and thence to Coillfhine, within the parish of Lorha, county of Tipperary. Here, on the Shannon's borders, having woven some osier frame-works, covered with hides of horses, the fugitives crossed over this broad river in safety, and pursued their course onwards to Aughrim. There, against overwhelming odds, they contended with the English and recreant Irish forces, banded to prevent their further progress towards Ulster. Wearied, famished and enfeebled, with the hardships and opposition experienced along

their route, a signal victory was nevertheless obtained by them over their opponents. [49.] Having finally escaped to the O'Rookes of Leitrim and arrived in their friendly territory, only eighteen fighting men, sixteen servants and one woman survived, the remainder having been slain, abandoned or exhausted on the way, during this most extraordinary and adventurous retreat. Most of the stragglers had been butchered; in cold blood, by their fell persecutors.

[50.] Having received assurance of Hugh Roe O'Donnell's death from Spain, the lord deputy of Ireland notified this fact to his brother Rory, and made overtures to offer that chieftain terms of submission and friendship. These conditions were at length accepted, by Rory O'Donnell and by O'Connor Sligo in Athlone, where these Irish chiefs were courteously received by Mountjoy. [51.] Tenders of a like nature were proposed to O'Neill, through the medium of Sir Garrett Moore of Mellifont; although with much reluctance the queen's assent was given to this proceeding. Elizabeth died on the 24th of March, 1603. [52.] Mountjoy received private intelligence of this occurrence three days afterwards. Anxious as he was to conclude a peace with O'Neill, before this news should be known publicly, on the last day of March, the great chieftain of Tyrone made his submission at Mellifont, to the lord deputy. O'Neill agreed to renounce the hereditary title, as head of his sept, and to disclaim any alliance or acknowledgment of foreign jurisdiction, especially

in reference to Spain. He promised future allegiance to the English crown, and consented to hold his lands, for the future, by English tenure. In return, the free exercise of religion, a full pardon and reversal of former attainders were guaranteed to him.

[53.] O'Neill was required to adopt his former title, Earl of Tyrone. No sooner, however, did he learn, that his submission had been made to a dead queen, and that the pardon and protection afforded could no longer give him security or bind her successor, than he was observed giving vent to a deep reverie of grief, by bursting into tears. By some, this outbreak of feeling was attributed to a remembrance of Elizabeth's former tolerance and even favours extended towards him. If he had doubts, regarding the faith which might be kept with him, by the newly-appointed monarch of England, they were removed on the lord deputy's renewal of royal protection, in the name of King James. Thus terminated that important series of events, in relation to Irish history, which rendered the reign of Queen Elizabeth so remarkable, as an epoch in our annals, and so pregnant with consequences, fatal to the future prospects of national union, civil and religious liberty. The native chiefs and people were unable to offer further effective resistance, in the distracted and disordered state of their public and private affairs; nor was it possible, to maintain for any further lengthened period, an organized military force, which would be capable of turning

the victorious tide, which bore their English adversaries onwards to uncontrolled power and ascendancy.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. Who were appointed to important offices in Ireland by the English privy council ?
2. What material assistance was afforded them ?
3. What important enterprize engaged O'Neill ?
4. What took place after his arrival at Cashel ?
5. How did Hugh Maguire's death occur ?
6. What did Mountjoy attempt ?
7. What happened in Leix ?
8. Was any remarkable expedition directed against Ulster ?
9. How did O'Neill and O'Donnell act ?
10. State the particulars of Carew's attempt on Desmond's life.
11. What reverses awaited the Munster Irish ?
12. What led to the spoliation of Leix, and the death of its brave chief ?
13. How were the people of Offaly treated ?
14. What happened in Ely and Ormond ?
15. Narrate the English state intrigue, in reference to young James of Desmond.
16. How did it end ?
17. What enterprizes were next essayed by Lord Mountjoy ?
18. What happened to O'Donnell in Ulster ?
19. How did he act ?
20. What occurred in Connaught ?
21. What took place in Ulster ?
22. What was the state of Earl Desmond's fortunes in Munster ?
23. How was his capture effected ?
24. Who became redoubtable at this time in Leinster ?
25. What foreign invasion revived disturbances in the south ?

26. What were the English preparations for resistance ?
27. How did the English fare at Kinsale ?
28. With what number of men did O'Donnell leave the north ?
29. What extraordinary exploit distinguished this march ?
30. How was this war maintained by the Spaniards in the south ?
31. When did O'Neill begin his movements ?
32. Were his tactics successful ?
33. What led to their reversal ?
34. What preparations were made for the battle of Kinsale ?
35. Describe the incidents of this remarkable engagement.
36. What resolution was adopted by the Irish chiefs after their overthrow ?
37. How was O'Donnell treated in Spain ?
38. How did the war proceed in Ireland ?
39. What measures were devised by the English against O'Sullivan Beare ?
40. What operations followed ?
41. Narrate incidents in reference to the final assault on Dunboy Castle.
42. What followed after the Irish surrendered ?
43. Did Sir George Carew's barbarous conduct tend to extinguish insurrection in Munster ?
44. What reinforcements did the English next receive ?
45. Relate the particulars of O'Donnell's death in Spain.
46. What events now took place in Ulster ?
47. What course did Mountjoy pursue ?
48. Describe the romantic and dangerous retreat of O'Sullivan Beare and his followers.
49. Where did the remnant of survivors find refuge ?
50. What led to Rory O'Donnell's submission ?
51. What offers were made to O'Neill ?
52. How were these negotiations concluded ?
53. What is said to have happened, when O'Neill received an account of Queen Elizabeth's death ?

## LESSON XXVIII.

First demonstrations of Irish Catholics on the accession of King James I.—Change of national laws and usages—Devices adopted to involve the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell in treasonable practices—Their flight from Ireland—Sir Cahir O'Dogherty's revolt—Subsequent plantation of Ulster—Contests in the parliament of 1613—Death of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone—Religious persecution—Iniquitous proceedings in escheating Leinster estates.\*

[1.] THE accession of James I. to the English throne was considered by the Irish Catholics an omen favourable to the interests of their religion,

\* Serving to illustrate this period of our history, there are Short Annals of Tyrconnell, preserved amongst the MSS. of the Royal Irish Academy. A MS., preserved in the College of St. Isidore at Rome, gives many interesting particulars regarding the flight of Earls Tyrone and Tyrconnell from Ireland. The printed works, of most value for this purpose, are, Sir William Petty's *Narrative of His Proceedings in the Survey of Ireland*; from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, edited, with notes, by Sir Thomas A. Larcom, R.E.; Hugh Reilly's *Ireland's Case briefly Stated*; Erck's *Repository of the Inrolments in the Patent Rolls of Chancery, in Ireland; commencing with the reign of King James I.*; Rothe's *Analecta Sacra nova et mira de rebus Catholicorum in Hibernia*; the several vols. of Irish Statutes, 1310 to 1761, and one single volume entitled, *The Statutes of Ireland, from Edward II. to Charles II.*; Commons' *Journal of Ireland, from 1613*; Pynnar's *Survey of Ulster*; MacNevin's *History of the Confiscation of Ulster*; Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*; M'Gee's *History of the Irish Writers of the Seventeenth Century*; Anderson's *Royal Genealogies*.

as he had expressed a partiality for it in his youth. They accordingly restored its rites and services in full splendour, and, in several instances, took possession of their former churches, which had been appropriated by Protestants, notwithstanding severe edicts against a profession of the old faith, passed in the former reign. Many of the principal cities and towns, in the south, opposed a proclamation issued by Mountjoy, which was supposed to be invalid, and which announced the accession of their new monarch. [2.] His title and claims were however admitted on the approach of his deputy, Mountjoy, who, at the head of a considerable army, advanced to the gates of Cork and Waterford. Upon his return, an act of indemnity was passed, and several other regulations were made; afterwards, in May, 1603, he passed over to England, taking with him Tyrone and Rory O'Donnell, who were favourably received by James. The latter chieftain was created Earl of Tyrconnell. Niall Garv raised the standard of rebellion against his English patrons in Ulster, and had himself proclaimed The O'Donnell, according to ancient Irish usages. His revolt was however soon quelled; and the royal clemency was even exercised, to the extent of allowing him to retain his patrimonial inheritance.

[3.] Carew succeeded in the administration, with the title of lord deputy; whilst Mountjoy had received from his king the higher dignity of lord lieutenant of Ireland, having also obtained the privilege of residing in England. [4.] Under this new deputy and his successor, counties were



formed in Tyrone and Tyrconnell, sheriffs appointed, Tanistry and Gavelkind abolished, and the Brehon Law was set aside, in exchange for the forms and practice of English common law. A commission of grace was established under the great seal, for securing Irish subjects against claims made by the English crown; the local governor was commissioned to receive the surrender of Irish lands, and to give a fresh grant of estates back to their former owners. Thus was a complete reformation made in the government of this country; and from the accession of King James may be dated the downfall of Irish independence.

[5.] Sir Arthur Chichester succeeded Sir George Carew as lord deputy. A proclamation was published, on the 4th July, 1605, by which the Catholic clergy were ordered to depart from Ireland, within a limited time, under penalty of death, if they did not conform to certain oppressive laws, and take several objectionable oaths. An insulting commission was issued, and certain respectable Catholics were required to discharge the disagreeable office of inquisitors, by watching and informing against members of their communion, who were absent from Protestant services, on days specially designated. [6.] This decree produced great opposition, and warm remonstrances; a petition for the free exercise of religion was presented to the council. The petitioners and their agent, Sir Patrick Barnewall, were taken into custody: the former were confined in Dublin Castle, and the latter was sent over to England, by the king's command.

[7.] The crafty Cecil, finding that his well-devised plans for prejudicing James' mind against the Catholics had succeeded so well in England, was resolved to attempt a like scheme in Ireland. We have sufficient authority for believing, that the great northern chieftains were subjected to various harassing exactions, persecution and unfair dealing, on the part of government officials, which materially tended to aggravate the inconveniences and grievances to which themselves and their clansmen had been subjected, under the unusual and arbitrary regulations of English governors and judges. [8.] Cecil is said to have influenced Christopher St. Laurence, the blind lord of Howth, who was a Catholic, to invite some principal men amongst the Irish Catholics to a meeting, held at Maynooth, where, having bound them to an oath of secrecy, this Irish nobleman proposed that they should make a stand in defence of their religion. Lord Howth declared that the state had resolved to get rid of all men belonging to their persuasion, unless such persons would become Protestants. His proposal was unanimously rejected by the gentlemen present, who averred, that they would not rashly engage in such a design. According to other accounts, however, the Irish chieftains lent a favourable ear to the plans proposed, and had actually arranged all preliminaries for a treasonable conspiracy. Upon this, St. Laurence, who made those rejected proffers, proceeded to the deputy, informed against the unsuspecting gentlemen whom he intended to circumvent,

and charged them with being concerned in a dangerous conspiracy. Tyrone, Tyrconnell and the rest, having been sent for, were examined. All denied a knowledge of the meeting, until Howth appeared as their accuser, when they confessed a proposal made to them and rejected for various reasons. Nothing appearing against them that would lead to conviction, they were remanded back, to appear next day for further examination.

[9.] Some pretended friends, meantime, persuaded the earls to leave this kingdom, as the privy council only waited for certain corrupt witnesses to be procured, who would swear to whatever they were advised. A forged letter, directed to the clerk of the privy council, was found near the council chamber, in which a rebellion, as is stated, was about to be raised by the aforesaid gentlemen. A design, for seizing the Castle of Dublin, for murdering the lord deputy, and for acting in concert with Spanish forces expected in Ireland, was mentioned. Hereupon, the earls fled to the Continent, justly alarmed for their personal safety. A ship having arrived from France in the harbour of Lough Swilly, the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, with their families, relatives and many other faithful friends, embarked at Rathmullen, on the 14th of September, 1607. They landed in Normandy, and afterwards travelled through Flanders, proceeding finally to Rome, where they were indebted to the Pope and the king of Spain, for a pension, which furnished them with the means for future subsistence. O'Donnell died the ensuing year.

[10.] Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, chief of Inishowen, maintained his family estates for some time against his oppressive English neighbours. However, he was accused by the new governor of Derry, Sir George Pawlett, with having been privy to the flight of the earls; and to such a degree was this personal altercation carried, that the young Irish chieftain was insultingly struck on the face.

[11.] Burning with indignation at this outrage, on consulting his friends, a stratagem was devised, and Culmore fort was taken, on the night of May 3rd, 1608. Before morning, Sir Cahir marched upon Derry, which he took by surprise, sacked and burned this fort and town, putting its governor and garrison to the sword. His cause was soon espoused by some of the northern chiefs. For two months this revolt continued; but on the 5th of July, this young chieftain was shot in a conflict with English forces, commanded by Marshal Wingfield and Sir Oliver Lambert. His head was cut off and sent to Dublin; whilst many of his adherents were publicly executed. Niall Garv O'Donnell and his son Naughton, who had joined in the revolt, were sent to London, and there committed to the Tower, for the term of their natural lives.

[12.] These events were made the pretext, for escheating a large tract of Irish territory to the English crown. Sir Arthur Chichester was rewarded for his services, by obtaining a grant of the large tract of Inishowen, which had belonged to Sir Cahir O'Dogherty. Various other adventurers were liberally compensated, for the part taken in

these unworthy proceedings. St. Laurence became a convert to the Protestant religion, and was consequently a sharer in the spoils. Upon this confiscation of Ulster lands, six counties, Tyrone, Derry, Donegal, Fermanagh, Armagh and Cavan, were divided amongst English and Scotch Protestants; no particular individual being allowed to become the owner of a large tract, lest hereafter he might be in a position, to cause any considerable opposition to government. The settlers were put in places of strength and security, whilst the native Irish were left in more open and exposed parts of the country. [13.] The system devised for this plantation of Ulster was the classification of lands, after a preliminary survey, into estates, containing 2,000 acres, which were reserved for rich undertakers and officials of the crown; those comprising 1,500 acres, destined for servitors of the king in Ireland; and lots divided into 1,000 acres, which were parcelled out in a promiscuous manner. By legal enactment and governmental directions, the ancient inhabitants, professors of the Catholic religion, were excluded from all possible advantages, in this arbitrary division and distribution of their forfeited properties. Numbers of the natives were driven into exile and foreign service, whilst in the violent and iniquitous disruption of an existing state of society, thousands perished through actual want, or sunk into a state of extreme indigence. Several regulations were passed, to prevent absenteeism; the city of London agreed to expend

£20,000 on this colony, and to build the cities of Derry and Coleraine. Several towns were incorporated, free schools established, and churches raised for the various parishes. The different baronets, on passing their patents, were obliged to pay a sum, that would maintain thirty men in Ulster, for three years, at eight pence a day.

[14.] The lord deputy was engaged daily increasing the number of borough and county representatives, in order to give administration a decided majority, on the convocation of parliament; and this attempt was successful, to the great terror of the Catholic recusant party, who dreaded a revival of penal statutes. [15.] The principal recusant lords addressed a letter to the king, praying him to suspend the creation of boroughs, and to repeal the penal laws, as the most obnoxious of all statutes to them. This petition was highly offensive James. [16.] His deputy still continued to increase the number of boroughs, several of which were not incorporated, until the writs for election had been issued. Many of the new boroughs were formed out of insignificant villages, scarcely inhabited by more than half-a-dozen of the Protestant settlers of Ulster. These unconstitutional proceedings enabled the court party to obtain a decided preponderance, in the representative portion of the house; whilst the peers consisted of 25 Protestant prelates, 16 temporal barons, 5 viscounts and 4 earls, the vastly greater proportion of whom were devoted to the interests of government. After an interval of twenty-seven years since the last legis-

lative assembly, and in contravention of the usual forms and programme legally prescribed, this parliament was summoned to meet at Dublin, in the year 1613.

[17.] The recusants vainly laboured to secure a majority; on the meeting of parliament, they were outnumbered in the Lords and Commons. The first governmental opposition was experienced, in the election of a speaker. Sir John Davis, the attorney-general for the administration, and Sir John Everard, the respectable recusant candidate, who had refused to take the objectionable oath of supremacy, started as opponents. Those, who declared for the former, having collected in the lobby, during their absence, Everard was elected to the speakership; but on return of the government supporters, they declared Davis elected, and seated him in Everard's lap. In a violent attempt to displace the latter, his clothes were torn. [18.] The recusants hereupon retired from both houses, and the deputy was obliged to prorogue parliament, in order to quell the violence of these contending parties. It was deemed impolitic to outrage further common decency and justice, as the whole military force, at the disposal of government, did not amount to more than 2,000 men; and to drive the recusant Catholics to extremities, under these circumstances, might be found both dangerous and unseasonable.

[19.] Agents were despatched to the English court, by the recusant party, to complain of their grievances; but, to counteract these statements,

the deputy sent over his own nominees. The Catholic agents were treated with great discourtesy and insults, by their foolish and conceited monarch; two of the number, having been committed to prison, were afterwards released, with a coarse and an undignified royal monition. The king, nevertheless, appointed commissioners to inquire into those complaints; but amongst the gentlemen named for this office, Sir James Gough was committed to prison, by an order of the council. Chichester was sent for, and James admitted the recusants, to plead their cause before the council, although he censured their opposition.

[20.] In 1614, parliament assembled peaceably, and several wise laws were enacted. A decree of oblivion for past offences was promulgated, and several statutes, operating against the native Irish, were repealed. A liberal money grant was tendered to the king, for which he returned thanks to the deputy.

[21.] In the year 1616, on the 20th day of July, the truly illustrious Hugh O'Neill died at an advanced age in Rome, and was interred within the Franciscan Church of St. Peter-in-Montorio, on the Janiculum. Here, also, reposed the ashes of his son, Hugh O'Neill, who had obtained the title, Baron of Dungannon, with Rory O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, and his brother, Caffar: all these had preceded the great Earl of Tyrone to the tomb. A man of fascinating manners and address, accomplished in the arts of war and diplomacy, energetic in action and wise in council,



beloved by his friends and dependants, feared by his enemies, possessing rare talents for military organization, civil administration and political combination, just, personally disinterested, valiant in soul and moral in character, O'Neill had become blind towards the close of his life. Having survived his most attached friends and the independence of his country, a religious preparation for death brought him a happy release, from earthly suffering, exile and misfortune.

[22.] Sir Oliver St. John became successor of Chichester in the Irish government; but he was still more unpopular than the former, as he put in force penal statutes and other objectionable measures. Such was the general complaint against him, that James was again requested to send over commissioners, to report on the injustices practised in Ireland. [23.] St. John was deposed, and the administration was then committed to Lord Faulkland, sworn into office September 6th, 1622. [24.] At the ceremony of his inauguration, the learned but intolerant James Ussher, Protestant bishop of Meath, and afterwards promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Armagh, preached a sermon, which breathed the spirit of persecution to such a degree, that the Catholics were justly alarmed and apprehensive of further disabilities. A convocation, held in Dublin about this period, approved of a creed, the eclectic articles of which had been drawn up by Ussher. Sabbatarian and rigorous Calvinistic doctrines, mingled with strange fanatical notions, confirmed by the

Lord Deputy Chichester, were promulgated as the public confession of faith, for the Irish Protestant Church.

[25.] The new lord deputy entered upon his trust, without having it in his power to restrain just complaints of those, who were alarmed at abuses practised in invalidating old claims, and in the questioning of titles already supposed to have been indisputably established. As Ireland had become rather a burden to the crown, than a source from which revenue was derived, the commissioners proposed several plans to remedy this deficiency.

[26.] Amongst these redoubtable schemes, it was resolved to institute an inquiry into technical defects of title, and an investigation by commissioners was accordingly held, in which nearly the whole province of Leinster was declared forfeited to the crown. As a matter of course, flaws were easily discovered in the titles of native Catholic proprietors. Fraud, perjury, intimidation, imprisonment, and even torture were resorted to, in order to satisfy the rapacity of needy and unprincipled adventurers, or to procure decisions, in accordance with the wishes and interests of state officials. [27.] Numbers of the ancient septs were heartlessly despoiled of their properties, and driven as houseless wanderers, to the most remote parts of the kingdom. No compensation whatever was allowed them for this violent and oppressive treatment, in many instances, and they were forbidden to return, under penalty of martial law. This vast territory, thus confiscated by the king, was

parcelled out amongst English settlers, on a plan somewhat similar to that adopted, in the plantation of Ulster. [28.] These acts of rapacity and injustice were not, however, deemed sufficiently extensive and extortionate. The whole province of Connaught was declared vested in the crown; and it was proposed, to form an extensive English plantation within it. The proprietors, knowing opposition to be vain, were about concluding a treaty with James, offering to purchase a fresh confirmation of their lands, when luckily for them, his death, which occurred on the 27th of March, 1625, put an end to these troublesome matters.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. How did the Irish Catholics comport themselves, when James I. occupied the throne?
2. What followed?
3. Who next succeeded to high office in the Irish government?
4. What changes took place?
5. What occurred under Sir Arthur Chichester's administration?
6. Did the Catholics adopt any defensive measures?
7. Are any particular causes assigned for disaffection amongst the Catholic Irish?
8. Narrate a brief outline of the plot devised by the Lord of Howth.
9. What course was taken by the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell?
10. What induced Sir Cahir O'Dogherty to rise in arms against the English of Derry?
11. State the result.
12. Who derived special advantages from these disturbances?

13. What systematic plan did government frame for the plantation of Ulster ?

14. What project next occupied the lord deputy's attention ?

15. How did the Catholic nobles act ?

16. Were any unusual measures taken by the lord deputy to procure court influence in the new parliament ?

17. What scenes attended its opening session ?

18. What ensued ?

19. Did the recusant party pursue any course for redress of grievances ?

20. What measures passed the parliament in 1614 ?

21. Relate the historic accounts of Hugh O'Neill's death and general character.

22. Who was the next Irish deputy, and how did he manage affairs ?

23. Who succeeded in the deputyship ?

24. In what capacity did the celebrated Protestant bishop Ussher distinguish himself ?

25. What policy was next adopted towards the Irish Catholics ?

26. How was this unjust dealing prosecuted in Leinster ?

27. To what condition were the wretched natives reduced ?

28. Were any further acts of oppression meditated in other quarters ?

## LESSON XXIX.

Irish events on the accession of King Charles I.—Wentworth's administration—His acts of duplicity, rapacity and despotism—His recall—Condemnation—Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase appointed Lords Justices—Remonstrances of the Irish Parliament—Causes that led to the celebrated Irish rebellion of 1641—Plan of this insurrection—Its failure in Dublin.\*

[1.] ONE of the early acts of King Charles I.'s reign was an increase of his army in Ireland, to the number of 5,000 foot and 500 horse, a very considerable force in those days. To support this army, the inhabitants of towns and counties were obliged to supply these soldiers with necessaries, for three months at a time, the royal revenue being unable to maintain them. A sum of £120,000 was agreed to be paid by both contending parties, within three years, and by quarterly instalments, on condition of the king and his administration suspending penal statutes, by substituting the oath of civil allegiance for that of royal ecclesiastical supremacy; removing legal disabilities from recusants, so as to permit Catholics practising in the law courts; limiting the king's claims for estates to the last

\* The following works will be consulted with great advantage, for this special period of our History, viz.: *Straford's State Letters*; *Carte's Life of Ormond*; *Castlehaven's Memoirs*; *Sanderson's History of the Life and Raigne of King Charles I. from his cradle to his grave*; *Rev. Alexander Clogy's Life and Episcopate of Dr. William Bedell, Lord Bishop of Kilmore*; *Clarendon's History of the Irish Rebellion*.

sixty years ; and admitting the proprietors in Connaught to enrol patents for their lands anew. These promised immunities were called "graces." An act of general pardon was expected to be passed in the next Irish parliament held, and the titles to estates of proprietors were then to be confirmed. A royal proclamation was issued to that effect. Charles having appointed the 3rd of November, for this parliament to assemble ; his judges, nevertheless, declared the writs informal and illegal, so that the mandate was disobeyed.

[2.] In 1629, Falkland was recalled ; Viscount Ely and the Earl of Cork were appointed to conduct the government, which they held for some time. Almost immediately after being sworn into office, these lords justices began to enforce existing legal penalties against the Catholics, with extreme rigour. [3.] However, the severity, with which these governors treated the recusant party, induced the king to remove them in 1633, and to place Viscount Wentworth, afterwards better known in English history, as the Earl of Strafford, in their stead. His haughty bearing and extreme arrogance rendered him very unpopular amongst the Irish nobles and gentry, as also to the humbler classes. [4.] This crafty and designing politician influenced the council to petition, that Charles might call a new parliament, in hopes it would make the offer of a voluntary contribution for another year. They undertook to act on this suggestion, in expectation that parliament would confirm the "graces," as these terms agreed to were

called. But Wentworth had not this design in view—his object being merely to obtain a supply. A parliament was accordingly summoned in 1684, and he endeavoured to secure its subserviency to the royal interests, by procuring the return of military officers and other officials. For this purpose, he also effected the return of nearly an equal number of Protestants and Catholics. To stimulate the former, through their sectarian intolerance, he intimated, that the king could not enforce the penal statutes, without their making a regular provision ; whilst the latter were given to understand, that the weekly fines, on absentees from services of the established religion, would be exacted, if this end were not obtained. [5.] Six subsidies, of £50,000 each subsidy, were voted unconditionally in the Commons ; but the Lords could not be so easily induced to sanction them, without first obtaining a redress of grievances. In a convention held at this time by the Protestant clergy, eight subsidies, of £8,000 each subsidy, were granted to the king. [6.] But strangely inconsistent with his former declarations, the unprincipled Wentworth, devoid of all shame, publicly proclaimed that he had never transmitted articles, on which the “graces” had been founded, to the king. Charles himself was base enough, to express his approval of this unscrupulous and fraudulent transaction. A general pardon was passed, and the parliament dissolved.

A noted act of Wentworth's rule was the discouragement given by him to Irish woollen manufacture, which seemed likely to rival this great

staple business in England. However, it must be allowed, he encouraged the growth of flax and of the linen manufacture in this country, by a liberal expenditure of the public money. [8.] To crown all his arbitrary actions, the infamous inquisition, which he prosecuted, for finding flaws in titles to the estates of gentlemen, occupying in Leinster, Munster and Connaught, but especially in the latter province, stamps upon his government a brand of lasting odium.

[9.] The confiscations that were made, he granted for the most part to his own relations or to his partizans; and to procure these forfeitures, he stopped at no injustice. Having selected lawyers distinguished for their ingenuity and unscrupulousness, instructions were given, that investigations should take place amongst old muniments, to discover the king's original title to the whole province of Connaught. With such instrumentality and motives, the results may be easily apprehended. No sooner had the commission of defective titles been issued for Connaught, in 1635, than every species of coercion, cajolery, threats and corruption was practised with jurors, specially selected and directed for parts they were required to perform. The object had in view was a rooting out of old Catholic proprietors, in order to make room for newly imported Protestant settlers, as also to increase the power and pecuniary resources of the crown. [10.] Wentworth opposed a confirmation of the "graces," severely amerced the sheriff and jury of Galway,



because they would not find for a right of the crown, as it was called. A Court of Wards was established, whereby heirs to estates were legally secured, in order to be educated in the state religion. Many just and repeated complaints were grounded on these and other tyrannical acts; but Wentworth went over to England to render an account of his administration. [11.] Warmly received by the king, who expressed his approbation of the deputy's conduct, he was desired to proceed in the work. These commands were punctually attended to, whilst levies of confiscations and heavy fines continued.

[12.] At this time, Charles experienced considerable uneasiness and alarm, because of the Scotch insurrection, as did also Wentworth, who sided with his royal master on all occasions. [13.] The army in Ireland was augmented. The Irish revenue had been increased to the amount of over £80,000 per annum. A contingent of the Irish army was despatched into England, besides a very considerable sum of money. Several of the Scotch, who were settled in Ulster, passed over to their countrymen, whilst the Earl of Argyll opened a communication with the Scots of that Irish province. His plots, however, were discovered, his shipping was seized, and other measures of defence were taken. [14.] The deputy received orders to repair to England, where Charles conferred knighthood of the honorable order of the Garter, and the title, Earl of Strafford, on his favorite, who was heretofore known as Viscount Went-

worth. [15.] This faithful minister, knowing the embarrassments of his royal master, returned to Ireland, where he convened a parliament. Money was provided, soldiers were raised, the Earl of Ormond was appointed over the army, and the charge of raising subsidies was committed to Sir Christopher Wandesford. He became deputy under Strafford, whose presence was again thought necessary in England. Nine thousand soldiers were instantly raised, and of these eight thousand were Catholics, the officers being Protestants; but the supplies for these troops were not forthcoming, as had been expected, a considerable number of the Protestant Irish settlers being directly opposed to the king. [16.] The Roman Catholics preserved a steady loyalty, notwithstanding all they had suffered, and the advantageous offers it is probable they would have obtained, by siding with the Puritans; if rightfully employed against the republican party, their forces would have proved a great check to anti-royalist movements.

[17.] On a second meeting of the Irish parliament, which was largely composed of Catholic noblemen and gentlemen of English descent, remonstrances were addressed to Wandesford, on various subjects. To a certain extent, Catholic members felt an interest in siding with the Puritans, who offered such a strenuous opposition to the royal encroachments, on undoubtedly popular rights. Such was the spirit of opposition manifested, that Strafford was obliged to return in the capacity of captain-general of the Irish army,

which was to be transported into Scotland. The parliamentary party in England affected to fear the Irish Catholics, of which this army was principally composed. Orders were given for disbanding it; but this course was deemed impolitic, as no money had been left to discharge the soldiers' arrears. [18.] The Irish parliament, meanwhile, was strenuous in its opposition to the king and Strafford; its members continually complained of acts committed by the latter, so far as regarded the despotic government of this country. A remonstrance was prepared, and a committee appointed by the Irish commons to proceed with their grievances to London, and there lay them before the king. All that the deputy could do, to prevent this proceeding, was attempted, but in-vain. This committee was graciously received in London, by the parliamentarians, and the remonstrance borne thither was communicated to these warm sympathizers. Strafford was summoned to England, and immediately committed to custody, on his appearance in London.

[19.] The appointment of a successor, to this deposed Irish governor, was the next point for consideration. Strafford recommended the Earl of Ormond, who was a royalist; but the committee obliged their king to confer this vacant office, by nominating as lords justices, Sir John Borlase and Sir William Parsons, decided Puritans. [20.] Considerable confusion now arose between the king and this committee, the latter insisting that Charles should not consult on their affairs with his favour-

ites. In the Irish House of Lords, also, a committee had been appointed to present grievances, notwithstanding the opposition given to this measure, by Protestant prelates, in that House. The Commons moved for greater power and privileges, than they had hitherto enjoyed ; they inquired into every act of Strafford's government, and impeached several of those attached to him, two of whom, Bramhal and Sir Gerald Lowther, were committed to custody. [21.] The Irish committee, after considerable dispute and discussion, at length obtained the most important objects of their demand. The king wrote to his justices to establish the "graces," and to secure all persons in their estates, from questionable claims of the crown. At the same time, it was directed, that the royal title should be limited to sixty years. For these grants, thanks were returned to the king, but the violence of party was not diminished. Each question was swayed by a majority of members in the Irish House, who prayed that the parliament should not be dissolved, until every grievance had been fully redressed. In this manner they continued, until the committee returned with bills, which confirmed the possessions of Irish subjects, and redressed grievances, of which the parliament complained. Thus passed away this session, whilst the members who composed that Irish parliament resolved upon the next meeting, to carry their demands to a still farther length. [22.] The soldiers raised by Strafford were disbanded, on payment of a sum of money, and it was resolved to

send them into Spain. But the Irish committee and the Irish Commons opposed this measure, maintaining that these soldiers might be used hereafter as instruments for raising a rebellion in Ireland, according as it might seem agreeable to the court of Spain. The affair rested thus, without any provision having been made for them. Charles, however, had sent private instructions to his friends, the Earls of Ormond and Antrim, to devise some pretexts, which would ultimately secure them for his service ; because he already apprehended the sanguinary issue of those differences arising between himself and the republican party.

The next memorable epoch, in Irish history, was an outbreak of the miscalled rebellion of 1641. To give a brief outline and a faithful narrative of this remarkable occurrence, shall be especially attended to here, with the causes that led to its rise, progress and termination.

[23.] The favourers of English Presbyterians in Ireland, finding the power of Charles I. declining every day, resolved to compass their object, which was a desire to exterminate all Irish Catholics, and thus procure possession of their estates. Both in England and Ireland, the Puritan leaders publicly announced that the conversion of Irish Papists could only be effected by the Bible in one hand and a sword in the other ; whilst it was boasted, that within twelve months, neither a priest nor a Catholic should be seen in this island. For such an object, it is said, the Puritans drew up a petition, the prayer of which required, that the Irish

Catholics should be forced to become Protestants or leave the kingdom, and that all defaulters should be hanged at their own doors. This precious document was addressed to the English parliament, and was signed by several thousands, unknown to the Catholic Irish ; until at length, it was discovered to some Catholic gentleman of Ulster, by an upright minister bearing the name of Primrose, to whom it was sent, in order to receive his signature and the approval of his Protestant parishioners. The alarm increased, especially after these gentlemen complained to the judges and magistrates, who paid no regard to their remonstrances. They found, moreover, that no favour could be expected from the Pr  sbyterian lords justices.

The Earl of Castlehaven, who had excellent means for being well informed on the subject, and who could have no motive in desiring to misstate facts, declares, that the Irish offered him the following chief reasons, for entering into this combination, against King Charles I. They observed, that by the governors of Ireland they were generally looked upon as a conquered nation, and seldom or never treated like natural or free-born subjects. For their further excuse, they said, besides, that a discontented people, thus used, are very apt to think they are no longer obliged to submit, than whilst they are forced to obedience. By the same force whereby they had lost their independence, when able to resist successfully, they might once more regain their liberty. It grieved them extremely,

that on account of Tyrone's rebellion, as they said, six whole counties in Ulster were entirely escheated to the crown: little or nothing was restored to the natives, although several of them never joined with Tyrone, whilst a great part of their possessions was bestowed by King James I. upon his countrymen. It did not a little heighten their discontent, that in the Earl of Strafford's time, there was a great effort made for a confiscation, which would entitle the crown to Roscommon, Mayo, Galway and Cork counties, with some parts of Tipperary, Limerick, Wicklow, and other districts. They averred, and experience attests, that where the people's property is likely to be invaded, neither religion nor loyalty will be able to keep them within bounds, if they find themselves in a condition to make any considerable opposition. They found, that since the sitting of this parliament, great severities had been practised against the Roman Catholics in England. Both legislative houses solicited, urged by several petitions from Ireland, to have the native Catholics of this kingdom treated with like rigour. For a people, so fond of their religion as the Irish were, it was no small inducement, while an opportunity was offered, in obliging them to stand upon their defence. They saw that the Scots, by pretending grievances, and taking up arms to get them redressed, had not only gained various privileges and immunities, but that they had even obtained £300,000 for their visit, besides £850 a-day for several months together. Lastly, the Irish fore-

saw a storm approaching, and such misunderstandings daily arising between the king and his parliament, as portended nothing less than a sudden rupture between them. The malcontents believed, that the king, thus engaged, partly at home and partly with the Scotch, could not be able to suppress an insurrection, breaking out in Ireland. Therefore, rather than hold out against them, it was considered that King Charles would grant them anything they could in reason demand, or at least, more than otherwise they could expect, by remaining passive, during the prevalence of a general agitation, then existing.

[24.] The Catholics were unprovided with arms and necessities for carrying on a war, and ignorant of what measures should be taken, to provide for their security. An instinct for self-preservation, however, induced a few of the native Irish Catholic gentry to hold a meeting, in which various plans for the redress of grievances were discussed.

[25.] Roger Moore or O'More, a descendant of the ancient Leix family, was the prime mover in these proceedings, and his arguments were so irresistibly urged, that he induced some of the most influential northern chiefs to declare for an armed insurrection. [26.] Amongst these allies, Lord Maguire and Sir Phelim O'Neill were most active and adventurous. [27.] A correspondence was opened with several distinguished Irish military leaders, engaged in actual service abroad; whilst promises of assistance had been elicited from Cardinal Richelieu, prime minister of France. Colonel



Owen Roe O'Neill, a distinguished commander, then serving in the Low Countries, was elected, as leader of this combined movement. [28.] The object about to be effected was not unknown to emissaries of the English government; for in March, 1641, King Charles communicated this intended rising to his lords justices in Ireland. His information was treated with marked indifference, by Sir William Parsons and by Sir John Borlase. In accordance with their detestable schemes of party and political aggrandisement, the result of such an insurrection was awaited with a sort of secret satisfaction.

[29.] Charles found all his intended measures, for the redress of some Irish grievances, thwarted by the lord justices. They refused to issue proclamation, announcing the royal promises to his Irish subjects; in defiance of entreaty and remonstrance, they prorogued parliament for three months. [30.] In this dilemma, it was rumoured, the king sent word to Earl Ormond, lieutenant-general of the Irish army, and to the Earl of Antrim, to seize upon his justices in Dublin. The loyal Protestants and Catholics, to whom such a project was communicated, had resolved to execute this design, when the parliament should meet, which was expected to take place on the 18th November. [31.] Differences of race, feeling and social position had tended greatly to estrange the Irish Catholic native gentry and those of purely English descent. This project, at length, came to the ears of Sir Phelim O'Neill and other gentlemen of Irish

extraction, from whom Ormond desired it might be concealed. [32.] Indignant that this matter should be kept a secret from them, and in order to prove their attachment towards the king, they resolved to execute a project, they conceived to be in accordance with this royal design, on the 23rd of October. They were also urged to immediate action, by a message received from Colonel Owen O'Neill. The principal men, amongst O'Neill's confederates, were Roger O'More, Sir James Dillon, Lord Maguire, MacMahon, Plunkett, Hugh Byrne, and Philip Reilly. [33.] It was arranged, that they should seize on the lords justices and the Castle of Dublin. For this purpose, two hundred men were expected to hold themselves in readiness within the city walls, on the appointed day, with the leaders already named ; whilst simultaneous efforts should be made in other parts of Ireland.

[34.] This plot in all probability would have succeeded, but for the treachery of one in possession of their secret, who disclosed the plan to Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase. [35.] The city gates were immediately secured. The castle, in which were placed 1,500 barrels of powder and thirty-five pieces of artillery, with a considerable quantity of arms and other military stores, was defended by Sir Francis Willoughby, who had just arrived from Galway. MacMahon and Maguire were apprehended, and the greatest confusion prevailed in Dublin. Roger O'More, and some of the other leaders, had early notice of this

plot being discovered ; so that, they were enabled to escape across the river Liffey. An incendiary proclamation was posted up, on the following morning, tending to excite public prejudice against the disaffected Irish Papists. It was asserted, that the Irish were advancing upon the citizens, many of whom prepared for flight into England. [86.] Sir Charles Coote was appointed governor of the metropolis. Ormond was summoned from Carrick-on-Suir, to appear with his troops in Dublin ; whilst instructions were sent to the presidents of Munster, Connaught, and to the Protestant gentlemen of Ulster, to provide against apprehended attempts of the native Irish.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What were the first measures adopted by the king in Ireland ?
2. What occurred in 1629 ?
3. Who was appointed as head of Irish affairs in 1633 ?
4. How did Wentworth proceed ?
5. What was the result of his application to parliament.
6. Did he fulfil the expectation of its members ?
7. How did he act in reference to Irish manufactures ?
8. What iniquitous measures principally engaged his attention ?
9. How were they prosecuted ?
10. What unjust and arbitrary acts are attributed to him ?
11. Did the king express approval of his courses ?
12. What caused alarm to King Charles and his Irish deputy ?
13. What occurred about this period ?
14. What directions were transmitted to Wentworth ?
15. How did he afterwards act ?

16. Were the Irish Catholics distinguished for their loyalty?
17. What occurred on the assembling of an Irish parliament?
18. How did its representatives manifest their discontent?
19. What course was taken after the deposition of Strafford?
20. What difference arose between the Irish deputation and King Charles?
21. Did the Irish committee obtain any advantages from their discussions?
22. How were Strafford's Irish levies disposed of?
23. Give a brief statement of the principal immediate and remote causes that led to the celebrated Irish rebellion of 1641.
24. In what state were the Irish Catholics at this epoch?
25. Who was their chief leader in the present movement?
26. Who were his chief associates?
27. What course did they pursue?
28. How was the intelligence of this pending insurrection received by the principal functionaries of state?
29. What measures did King Charles resolve upon adopting, and how was he met?
30. What secret orders did the king transmit to the Earls of Ormond and Antrim?
31. Explain the reasons that prevented a cordial co-operation between different classes of his Irish subjects.
32. What feeling actuated Sir Phelim O'Neill and the northern Irish, at this time?
33. How did they arrange for the outbreak of this insurrection?
34. What led to the failure of their plot in Dublin?
35. State the issue.
36. What precautions for their defence did the lords justices take?

## LESSON XXX.

Application of the pale Catholic gentry for government protection—Sir Phelim O'Neill's success in Ulster—The Island Magee massacre—Progress of the Insurrection—The pale and aboriginal Irish Catholics Confederate—Battle of Kilrush—Arrival of Owen Roe O'Neill, who assumes command of the Catholic forces—Reinforcements received on either side.\*

[1.] UPON this breaking out of the aboriginal Irish, several Catholic lords, within the pale, appeared in Dublin, and expressed their desire of having arms provided for their security. At the same time, assurances were given the council, that the noblemen and gentlemen of English descent abhorred these unadvised nativist proceedings.

[2.] A small supply of arms was given; but these gentlemen, with several others, who were unconnected with the insurgents, were afterwards denied protection, and were even ill-used by the soldiery.

\* Works valuable for reference, viz.: Rev. C. P. Meehan's *History of the Confederation of Kilkenny; Relation of Occurrences in Ireland, A.D. 1642*; T. Crofton Croker's *Narrative of Contests in Ireland, 1641 and 1690*; *Secret History of the Reign of King Charles I. and King James II.*—London, 1690; *The Irish Harp*; Clanrickarde's *Memoirs*; Duffy's *Irish Catholic Magazine*; Duffy's *Sixpenny Magazine*; *History of the execrable Irish Rebellion traced from many preceding Acts to the Grand Eruption, the 23rd of October, 1641, and pursued to the Act of Settlement, MDCLXII.*—London, 1680; Borlase's *History of the Irish Insurrection*; Burnet's *Life of Bedell*; Ryan's *Biographical Dictionary of the Worthies of Ireland.*

[3.] Parliament was prorogued, lest any considerable concourse of persons should assemble in the city of Dublin, and to afford the lords justices an opportunity for regulating affairs in an unconstitutional manner, by means of star-chamber decrees in council. The arms allowed Catholic nobles and gentry, within the pale, were again demanded; whilst they were required to remain within their respective mansions, utterly defenceless and unprotected. Despatches were sent to England, in order to obtain supplies of money, and to adopt necessary defensive measures.

[4.] On the 22nd of October, Sir Phelim O'Neill possessed himself of Charlemont and Dungannon. In the former of these castles, a seal, attached to an old patent belonging to Lord Caulfield, was found. Sir Phelim O'Neill affixed this seal to a forged royal commission, so that many loyalists believed he acted for the king, and joined him accordingly. He soon found himself at the head of 80,000 irregular troops, badly provided with arms. Newry, Tanderagee, with other places, were taken by different leaders. The counties of Cavan, Longford, Monaghan, Fermanagh and Leitrim belonged almost exclusively to the Irish, who seized upon the principal towns and forts, within their limits, before a week had elapsed after this outbreak. [5.] Derry, Colerain, Enniskillen, Carrickfergus and Lisburn were secured by their respective garrisons. These successes of the English, and a confidence felt as to their ultimate good fortune, induced them to treat their

Irish opponents with barbarous cruelty. [6.] On the first week of November, the English garrison of Carrickfergus marched by night into the adjoining peninsula, known as Island Magee, where a number of poor, unoffending Irish were assailed in their beds. They were massacred with cool and deliberate barbarity. Some persons fled in a state of nudity to escape the first meditated slaughter; but every avenue of escape having been cut off, they were mercilessly hunted to the very cliffs that hung over the sea, where they were either cut to pieces, or hurled over the pointed rocks into the foaming waves. It is believed, that about 3,000 men, women and children, all innocent persons, perished on this occasion. [7.] These cruelties had the effect of rousing the worst passions of the Irish, and every friend of humanity must lament the sad consequences of bloody reprisals, especially in the uncertain vicissitudes of civil war. But, the most preposterous and incredible accounts have been published, regarding the numbers of their enemies, that are said to have been massacred by the Irish, and especially in the province of Ulster. Heated political enthusiasts or partisans, prone to misrepresent these cruelties for personal, sectarian or party purposes, at this period, were only too successful in exaggerating excesses of the wronged and exasperated Catholic Irish commonalty.

[8.] The insurgents next published a manifesto, in which they stated their reasons for taking up arms; the amiable and tolerant Protestant Bishop

of Kilmore, William Bedell, drew up their remonstrance of grievances, to be presented to the council. In this document, they declared a willingness to restore all that had been taken, if allowed toleration in the exercise of their religion. [9.] The king, meantime, despatched a body of men, with arms and ammunition, to oppose the Irish of Ulster. These soldiers, in several places, stayed the successes of native conspirators. The siege of Enniskillen was raised, as likewise that of Castle-Derrick. Sir Phelim O'Neill, who had assumed for title, Lord General of the Catholic Army in Ulster, was defeated in Donegal and at Lisburn; Protestant gentlemen in the North giving him great opposition. Sir Henry Tichburne was sent from Dublin to secure Drogheda, as 4,000 of the Irish enemy had encamped near that town. [10.] In Carlow, Wexford and Wicklow the English forts were occupied by insurgents; but Munster and Connaught were preserved by their respective presidents, and by gentlemen resident there, especially owing to the exertions of Earl Clanrickard. Not only was this nobleman denied assistance, but he was even reproached by the justices. It is easy to account for such treatment; for it was the policy and intention of the Puritan party, to give full vent to this insurrection, that afterwards, on its suppression, they might possess estates belonging to the disaffected.

[11.] Proclamations had been issued against the Irish, by the lords justices, on the 30th of October and the 1st of November, to contradict



Sir Phelim O'Neill's statement of his having held any commission from King Charles, and offering pardon to such insurgents, as would surrender in two days, provided they were not freeholders. The object of these declarations was manifest. It was thought, the landed proprietors compromised must relinquish possession of their estates, when the rebellion should be suppressed. A company of London adventurers had already made arrangements to parcel out amongst themselves ten million additional acres in Ireland. A deputation was appointed by the Puritans, to wait on Roger Moore, who was stationed near Dundalk. He rejected their overtures, giving the title of the Catholic army to his forces, and at the same time proposing an oath of confederation to be taken by them. The justices had already prorogued the Irish House of Parliament, in order that no measures might be taken to conciliate Irish Catholics. The English parliament seized Lords Dillon and Taaffe, who had been sent to London, for the purpose of remonstrating against this conduct. [12.] Attempts were now directed against the insurgents. Sir Charles Coote was sent out and he succeeded in driving them from Wicklow. On his return, this merciless leader wasted the whole country with fire and sword, massacring men, women, and even helpless infants. The mandate he usually gave his followers was, to spare not a child, if only a span in length. About three miles from Drogheda, a considerable party of English was defeated, with a loss of their arms and ammu-

dition. This produced such an effect, that several deserted from the royal army and joined the Irish. [13.] The principal lords and gentlemen of the pale, actually forced into rebellion, now joined Moore, upon his assuring them, that he and his confederates took up arms for no other purpose, than to support the king against his rebel subjects, and to obtain an equality of rights for the Irish, with their neighbours in the sister island. Their defection becoming known to the justices and council, these lords of the pale were summoned to attend in Dublin. But conscious that they would be seized and imprisoned, upon compliance with this summons, they declined attendance, stating that their advice, for the safety of the kingdom, when heretofore given, was not regarded.

[14.] They next proceeded to raise troops. Lord Gormanstown had convened a meeting of the Catholic nobility and gentry of English descent, on the hill of Crofty, in Meath. Here they were met, according to a pre-arranged plan, by Roger O'Moore and other insurgent leaders, when a conference was held, after mutual explanations tendered and received. Lord Gormanstown was elected their commander-in-chief, and Lord Fingal general of horse. They prepared an apology for this revolt to the king, in which they declared their willingness to meet any commissioners the justices should appoint, if removed from the power of Coote, who according to their information had determined on a massacre of all Catholics in the kingdom. Another and a more numerous meeting

of the Catholic gentry was held, soon after the first, on the historic hill of Tara. A royal proclamation, however, was issued against the Irish leaguers, dated January 1st, 1642, in which they were declared enemies against the state, and traitors to the king.

[15.] In the beginning of the year 1642, this war became general, and the insurgents' power spread throughout the kingdom. All Connaught, with the exception of Galway, and the principal forts and towns of Munster, fell into their hands. Cruel persecutions of the Irish Catholics by their enemies intensified and precipitated this movement. Wild excesses committed by the commonalty, through revengeful feelings, were moderated and restrained, or in most instances prevented, by the exertions of Catholic clergy and lay gentry. In Connaught, the Earl of Clanrickard, who was a Catholic and devoted to English interests, exerted all his influence to repress this insurrection. Kilkenny was seized by Lord Mountgarret, who followed up his success by capturing several strong posts in the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary and Waterford. Drogheda was near falling into the hands of the Irish. [16.] Coote defeated a party of them at Swords, but his victory was tarnished by his accustomed barbarity. Even Ormond, who was sent against the town of Naas, executed his orders with a degree of inhumanity, that made Lord Gormanstown remonstrate by letter. These and other barbarous acts induced the Irish to retaliate, when it was in their power ; although not

with the concurrence of their leaders, who used every means within their influence to prevent cruelty, by punishing all those guilty of lawless deeds. A reinforcement of 2,000 men arrived in Dublin. Large rewards were offered for the heads of Sir Phelim O'Neill and other revolted chiefs. The insurgents had the country around the metropolis so wasted, that a famine was inevitably approaching: To prevent desertion, the English contingents were sent to different quarters. At the head of 3,500 men, Ormond advanced to Drogheda, from which town Sir Phelim O'Neill retreated. Although Ormond petitioned the justices for leave to follow him, he was strictly enjoined not to proceed farther in pursuit. The Earl gave great offence to the lords justices on account of his refusal to indulge in a general pillage, burning and massacre. On the retreat of Ormond, the Irish regained places they had abandoned. Sir Henry Tichburne, being strengthened by a detachment, defeated them at Dundalk and Athindee.

[17.] The flight of Sir Phelim O'Neill produced a very unfavourable impression on the minds of inhabitants belonging to the pale, as these now plainly saw the inefficiency of their ill-disciplined northern supporters. Many proposed surrender to Ormond; but the justices were averse to pacific measures, and all who thus surrendered were conveyed to Dublin, as prisoners of war. [18.] A rumor spread in England, that the king had given commissions to the rebel leaders; and in order to find a cause of complaint against him, several gentle-

men were barbarously put to the torture, but nothing crimiatory of Charles transpired. The monarch himself would have proceeded to Ireland, for the purpose of opposing the insurgents, but he was prevented by the English parliament.

[19.] The next place, where the Irish were defeated, was at Kiltrush. Lord Mountgarrett had mustered a numerous, but imperfectly disciplined army, in Leinster. He had resolved to intercept Ormond's return from the southern part of Kildare county to Dublin. Ormond, hearing that the insurgents were posted near Athy, proceeded on his march to avoid them. Both armies moved in parallel lines for some miles, when a collision took place between them. After a desperate contest, Ormond succeeded in dispersing his opponents. Lord Mountgarrett then retired upon Kilkenny. For this action, called the battle of Kiltrush, the English Commons granted Ormond a jewel, valued at £500. [20.] Shortly after, a parliament met in Dublin, from which the recusants were expelled; and the remaining members expressed a desire, that the penal laws should be enacted against Catholics. Other measures were taken, in order that those ostracised might be exasperated beyond the hope of reconciliation. [21.] Numerous detachments of English troops began to arrive in Dublin and various other parts of this kingdom. General Robert Monroe, a man of ferocious and fanatical disposition, arrived at Carrickfergus with 2,500 soldiers. He was joined by a considerable body of provincial forces, which in-

creased his army to 4,800 men. With these he reduced the town, and shortly afterwards Tichburne took possession of Carlingford. Sir Charles Coote, having relieved Letitia, Baroness of Offaly, besieged by the Irish in her castle at Geashill in the King's county, was afterwards killed at Trim, on the 7th of May, when this town was unsuccessfully assailed by the insurgents. Armagh and Charlemont were abandoned by the Irish, who retired to different quarters. The justices, however, not employing decisive measures, the Irish again collected. [22.] In the south, Limerick was taken by the Irish, towards the close of June. Sir William St. Leger, Lord President of Munster, died at Cork, on the 2nd of July. His son-in-law, Lord Inchiquin, was his successor. From his sanguinary and destructive mode of carrying on war, he received the well-remembered traditional appellation, "Murrough of the burnings." [23.] About the middle of July, Owen O'Neill arrived from Dunkirk, and landed at Castle Doe, in Donegal, accompanied by 100 officers, with arms and ammunition, which circumstances greatly incited them to take the field. [24.] This officer, who had greatly distinguished himself in the Spanish armies, was joyfully welcomed by Sir Phelim O'Neill, who resigned his command of the Ulster forces, and at a meeting of the Irish gentry, Owen Roe was chosen leader of the Northern Irish. Sir Phelim, however, was nominated President of Ulster.

[25.] To dismiss all the prisoners, to discipline

his men, and to collect troops for the defence of his strongholds, were amongst the first acts of this new general. [26.] Earl Leven arrived, with a considerable army, which increased the English forces in Ulster, to upwards of 20,000 men. At the head of this army, Leven advanced to Tyrone, whence he addressed a letter to Owen O'Neill, who returned a spirited reply. Soon, however, Leven delivered up the command to Monroe, and returned to Scotland, while O'Neill continued to extend his prowess in every part of the province. [27.] Several vessels afterwards arrived to his assistance, laden with arms, ammunition and officers. Colonel Preston, the brother of Lord Gormanstown, landed on the coast of Wexford, from a man-of-war. Two frigates and some transports accompanied him, having on board 500 officers and a number of engineers, besides cannon and warlike stores. A number of experienced Irish officers and soldiers had been discharged from the French service by Cardinal Richelieu, to give them a favourable opportunity for assisting their countrymen in Ireland. English supplies were cut off by sea, which was open to the vessels of their enemies.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What course was adopted by the nobility and gentry of English descent?
2. How were they treated?
3. What was done by the Irish government?
4. What were the first occurrences in Ulster?

5. Were the northern English and Scotch settlers able to retain any towns?

6. Relate the incidents of a massacre at Island Magee.

7. What resulted?

8. What steps did the Irish first take?

9. What measures were resorted to by government?

10. Was the rebellion equally extended in the other provinces of Ireland?

11. How did the lords justices act, and through what motives of policy?

12. Who became distinguished for his barbarities against the Irish?

13. How did the Catholic gentlemen of the pale decide?

14. What was their programme of action?

15. How did the confederate Irish Catholics open their campaign?

16. How were they met by Coote and Ormond?

17. What impression was produced by Sir Phelim O'Neill's retreat from Drogheda?

18. What took place in England at this time?

19. What led to the battle of Kilrush?

20. What happened on the assembling of parliament in Dublin?

21. Did any particular achievements strengthen the power of administration about this period?

22. What occurred in the south of Ireland?

23. Who came to aid the Irish in July?

24. How was he received?

25. What were his first measures?

26. How did Earl Leven act?

27. What occurrences tended to strengthen the Catholic cause and the power of Owen Roe O'Neill?



## LESSON XXXI.

The Irish Catholic Confederation—Its constitution and ordinances—Its early proceedings—Various encounters between the Irish and English forces—Pacific overtures—Progress of these negotiations—Arrival of Rinuccini as Nuncio-Extraordinary in Ireland—Conclusion of the treaty.\*

[1.] IRISH Catholics, now finding that it was vain to expect pacific measures from the justices, who ruled absolutely in Ireland, resolved to unite in their own defence. Accordingly, having previously convened a Synod, the prelates and clergy of Ireland considered the plan for a National Association, to defend or enforce their civil and religious rights. The form of an oath, which all Catholics were required to take, was framed, and those, who entered into such a bond of alliance, were called the Confederate Catholics of Ireland.

\* In addition to the foregoing authorities, works specially useful for consultation, are, Dr. Elrington's edition of the *Life and Works of Ussher*; *Works of King Charles I.*; Rinuccini's *Nunziatura in Irlanda*; *Clarendon Papers*; *Century of Inventions*; Evelyn's *Memoirs*; Temple's *History of the Irish Rebellion*. There are various depositions, in MSS., contained in 32 large folio volumes, belonging to Trinity College Library. These were taken from March 24th, to October, 1644, and they have reference chiefly to the excesses alleged to be committed by the Irish, after a breaking out of this rebellion in 1641. Dr. Warner remarks that the bulk of this evidence rests on mere reports in general circulation. Some of these statements bear intrinsic evidence of falsehood or exaggeration.

A plan for a provisional government and a manifesto explanatory of principles and motives were promulged.

[2.] A General Assembly was convened at Kilkenny, in the nature, although differing in the manner and forms, of a parliament, at which deputies met, on the 24th day of October, 1642, from all the towns and counties of Ireland.

[3.] Eleven spiritual and fourteen temporal peers, besides 226 representative commoners, of the old and new Irish Catholic races, attended. These peers and commoners sat in the one hall; but a separate chamber was provided for the lords, when in consultation. A Speaker presided, and to him both peers and commoners addressed their speeches. Councils were appointed for each county and province, and from these lay an appeal to the supreme council, of twenty-four members—six for each province—chosen from amongst themselves, by the Catholics assembled at Kilkenny. Lord Mountgarrett was elected President of the Supreme Council, in which the administrative authority was vested. The Earl of Castlehaven, who had effected his escape from Dublin, was added as the twenty-fifth member of this council; but he did not represent any particular province.

[4.] These representatives published a manifesto, in which they commanded all persons to obey the mandates and to maintain the prerogatives of their king; they stated their reasons for taking up arms, and protested against the proceedings of the justices. A great seal was struck, n

printing-press was provided for the publication of their ordinances and proceedings, a mint was established for the coinage of money. It was ordained that corn, provisions, arms and ammunition should be admitted duty free into all the ports in their possession. Foreign ship-builders and mariners were offered inducements to enter their harbours. Various enactments, tending to extend commerce, were passed. They framed an oath of confederation to be taken by themselves ; they appointed commissioners to proceed with their petition to the king ; and they also prepared to form an army, with which they might be ready to defend themselves. Generals were chosen for the four provinces. Owen Roe O'Neill was appointed leader of the Ulster forces ; Thomas Preston commanded those of Leinster ; Gerald Barry obtained the leadership of Munster ; whilst John Burke was nominated lieutenant-general of Connaught. The chief command in this latter province was reserved for the Earl of Clanrickard, in hopes he would afterwards be induced to join this organization. Under the direction of General Preston, the Earl of Castlehaven obtained command of the Leinster horse. A guard of 500 foot and 200 horse was specially detached to attend the Supreme Council. It was resolved to raise a large revenue from lay and ecclesiastical property, in order to equip and maintain an effective military force and a strong government. The value of coin was raised, and ambassadors were selected to visit foreign states, in order to obtain needful succour.

[5.] The General Assembly of the Confederate Catholics adjourned on the 9th of January, 1648, to the 20th of May following. Meantime, their agents abroad were zealously and effectually appealing to the courts of France, Spain and Rome for material assistance and the sinews of war. One fatal mistake was committed in dividing the Catholic Irish army under so many independent commands, without a generalissimo to give union and direction for detailed or concentrated effort. However, the Irish soldiers rapidly improved in discipline. In the commencement of this year, Preston obtained several victories in Leinster: Owen Roe O'Neill was opposed in the north, by a powerful army of Scots, under the leadership of Munroe.

[6.] Notwithstanding the attempt of parliament to prevent their king from learning the true state of Ireland, his majesty appointed commissioners to meet the Catholics, and then transmit to him their complaints and demands. The justices made fruitless efforts to prevent this design from taking place, and their conduct greatly incensed the king against them. The royal commissioners, hereupon, requested the principal lords to send a committee of thirty laymen to Drogheda. The supreme council was highly offended at this proceeding, especially as they had been termed rebels, and their sincerity to the king had been questioned. At length, it was agreed to meet the commissioners at Trim. [7.] The Earl of Ormond, at the head of an army, proceeded to reduce Ross and Wexford, in the month

of March; but as no stores had arrived, he was obliged to abandon that enterprise. On his retreat to Dublin, Preston, who was provincial-general of Leinster, occupied a defile through which Ormond was obliged to pass; and had it been well maintained, he might have cut off the English forces. Too confident of his superior prowess and number of men, Preston ventured into the open plain, but was there totally routed by Ormond, with a loss of 500 men. During this expedition to the south, Ormond is accused of having inhumanly butchered the garrison of Timolin, after it had surrendered on a promise of quarter.

[8.] The remonstrance of the recusants was presented to King Charles, much to the dissatisfaction of his lords justices, who exerted all their influence in order to prevent a final treaty being signed, that they might more effectually irritate the confederates. This conduct was displeasing to the king, who substituted Sir Henry Tichburne for Parsons; but the monarch continued Borlase in office, as he was afraid of proceeding with too much vigour.

[9.] English affairs were now considered peculiarly distressing, as a famine was daily expected; every place of importance being left in the hands of the Irish confederates, who cut off several detachments of their enemies. In Connaught, Willoughby was compelled to surrender the forts of Galway and Oranmore to the Irish; in Leinster they obtained various advantages; whilst in the south, Sir Charles Vavasour, the English commander, was defeated and taken prisoner at Fermoy, with a

loss of 600 slain—cannon and standards falling into the hands of the Catholics. [10.] On the very day before, this miscreant had allowed his soldiers to strip and massacre in cold blood, twenty men, eleven women and seven children, after taking the Castle of Cloghleigh. [11.] In the beginning of summer, Munroe attempted to surprise O'Neill, at Charlemont, but the Scotch leader was repulsed, and sorely defeated on the following day. At Clones, O'Neill suffered a reverse. This was fully retrieved at Portlester Mill, about five miles from Trim, where he obtained a victory. Lord Moone, the English commander, was killed by a cannon-ball, in this engagement.

[12.] The only resource now left to government was the establishment of an excise; but, although this tax amounted to nearly half the value of its chargeable commodity, such a supply was found inadequate to the necessities of their state. [13.] Ormond endeavoured to procure a cessation of hostilities. The confederates would have consented, upon being allowed a free parliament, which demand of theirs was denied. Then they agreed to grant a supply for King Charles; but Ormond, knowing how unpopular it would render him to conclude a treaty with them, was quite at a loss to know how he should act. He therefore declared himself willing to abandon the war against them, if £10,000 could be collected, but this was pronounced a matter of absolute impossibility. Hereupon, he hastened to Castle Martin, in order to

meet the confederate agents; but he would not agree to their principal terms, namely, the free exercise of their religion and the assembling of a free parliament. The treaty being broken off, Ormond endeavoured to force the confederates to an engagement, but this they studiously avoided.—

[14.] At length, the king issued a proclamation, in which Ormond was authorised to execute a treaty, which was accordingly concluded on the 15th September, 1648. The confederates agreed to pay £30,800 to the king—one half to be given in money, and the other to be paid in cattle. This treaty was loudly decried by the Puritan party, both in England and Ireland, especially as some thousands of brave Irish royalist soldiers were despatched to the former country, immediately after its conclusion.

[15.] Divisions began to grow in the councils of the confederate Catholics. The wily and dissembling Ormond laboured to foment them for his own purposes. The old Irish had declared for a vigorous prosecution of the war, as the best guarantee for their independence and the liberty of conscience; whilst the Anglo-Irish inclined to peace and concession. Ormond endeavoured to hold out inducements and cajole the latter party with promises of prospective advantages. [16.] France, Spain and Rome, sent envoys to Ireland. Pope Urban VIII. had deputed Father Scarampi, a priest of the oratory, to furnish a report on the state of Irish affairs. This latter ecclesiastic had brought from Father Wadding, a learned Irish

Franciscan, at Rome, the sum of 80,000 dollars, with a large supply of arms and ammunition. The Papal envoy adopted the views of the old Irish party; whilst a great majority of the Catholic prelates and clergy declared for an uncompromising prosecution of hostilities.

[17.] On the 21st of January, 1644, the Marquis of Ormond was sworn into office as lord lieutenant of Ireland. At the council-board he was associated with colleagues attached to the parliamentary party in England, and who laboured not only to prevent concessions to Irish Catholics, but who even advised the adoption of additional intolerant measures against them. The greater part of this year was wasted through inaction. [18.] In the north, Munroe-infringed the cessation agreed to; whilst Lords Inchiquin and Broghil, in the south, were guilty of aggressions, by expelling all Catholics from Cork, Kinsale and Youghal. [19.] O'Neill was summoned to consult with the supreme council in Kilkenny. He complained of a want of supplies for his men, and received promises of further support and reinforcements. The gentry of the pale, having an overwhelming majority in the confederation and a distrust of the native Irish, resolved that a commander-in-chief for the Catholic forces should be appointed. The Earl of Castlehaven was elected to this important position, because he favoured their course of policy, although utterly incompetent to discharge the duties of his exalted and responsible station. O'Neill was justly offended at this preference; yet,



for the common good, he endeavoured to conceal his feelings, and co-operate in a subordinate capacity. In a campaign undertaken against Munroe, in the north, and Inchiquin, in the south, Castlehaven afforded sufficient proof of wanting military qualifications for command.

[20.] The king, who desired a definitive treaty, empowered Ormond to treat with the Irish commissioners, and settle on such terms as should be thought proper. In fine, having been instructed to make a peace with them upon any terms, knowing the unpopularity of such a proceeding, or hoping to exact more favorable stipulations, Ormond declared his resolution of resigning to the king. This the monarch would not accede to, and in manifesting approval of his conduct, Charles loaded him with the highest favours. [21.] But, anxious for the ratification of a peace, the king sent over Earl Glamorgan, with secret powers to conclude it. Ormond, unwilling to conclude a treaty, was earnestly pressed to it by the Irish. Although articles were at length agreed to, on the arrival of Glamorgan, their exchange was put off, until after the disastrous battle of Naseby, when the king surrendered himself to Scottish rebels. The confederates resolved to send over 10,000 men for the king's service, on conclusion of the peace; and to maintain these troops, it was stipulated that two-thirds of the personal revenues of the clergy should be granted for three years. Glamorgan, who was anxious for a final treaty, urged Ormond to its conclusion, as did the royalist Lord Digby, who had also arrived in Dublin.

[22.] Meanwhile, the supreme council had sent Belling, the secretary, on a confidential mission to Rome. [23.] There he was received as the accredited envoy of the Irish Catholics, by Pope Innocent X. Having heard his report on the state of Ireland, the sovereign Pontiff resolved on sending there, John Baptist Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo, as Nuncio-Extraordinary. [24.] Early in 1645, this prelate set out for Paris, where he was detained for three months, engaged in desultory negotiations. At length, with 20,000 livres obtained from Cardinal Mazarin for the use of the Irish, he embarked at Rochelle in a frigate, carrying twenty-six guns, with a retinue of Italians, Irish officers and the secretary, Belling. He brought also a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, with a large sum of money furnished by the Pope and Father Wadding. He landed in the bay of Kenmare, on the 21st of October, 1645, and proceeded by Macroom, Kilmallock and Limerick on to Kilkenny. [25.] In the latter city, he was received with extraordinary demonstrations of respect. Having addressed Lord Mountgarrett, president of the Assembly, in Latin, the Nuncio declared, that he came to support the king in his distress, but especially to rescue from pain and penalties the people of Ireland, to have churches and church property restored, and to secure a free and public exercise of the Catholic religion.

[20.] Whilst those matters were progressing, the Scots of Ulster, with a part of the British troops stationed in Ireland, finding parliament indisposed to

furnish them with necessaries, resolved to declare for the king. In order to prevent this step, it was determined to employ them; and accordingly, Sir Charles Coote led a considerable force against the town of Sligo, which surrendered. The confederates directed that a reinforcement should proceed to assist the Archbishop of Tuam, then endeavouring to retake that town. In a battle which ensued, the bishop fell into their hands, and his force was defeated. A copy of Glamorgan's private treaty and commission was found in his possession. This was transmitted to the English parliamentarians, who printed and published it, to the great confusion of King Charles and his Protestant adherents.

[27.] At length, the king disavowed these articles, relating to religion, in the treaty concluded privately by Glamorgan; but, at the same time, Charles conveyed to him assurances of friendship. The Pope's Nuncio, finding that no provision had been made for ecclesiastical interests or liberty of conscience, protested against this treaty; but, shortly afterwards, he seemed satisfied with the promises of Glamorgan. The principal objection of Rinuccini was directed against the weak temporizing expedient of publishing the political, without the ecclesiastical, portions of this agreement. [28.] It now only remained for those who were anxious to conclude a public peace at any price with Ormond, to agree upon such terms as the exigencies of their condition demanded. The accomplishment of this event took place, on the 28th of March, 1645. By this treaty, its articles were de-

clared nullified, if the confederates did not send over their promised number of men, for the king's service. They were prevented from accomplishing this purpose, by the inability of Glamorgan to procure them necessary transports. Irish troops were then despatched against the parliamentarians of Munster. The confederate Catholics endeavoured to excite Ormond to join them against the forces of Ulster. They had even promised, in the event of a union between the royalist troops and their own, that the king's lieutenant in Ireland should have a great influence over their public and private deliberations. But this nobleman was prevented from adopting such a course, by orders, received from the king, which would not allow him to conclude any treaty with the confederation. At length, the latter body sent to know his final determination, when, upon after-thought, Ormond considered that if a peace were concluded, he might possess himself of places, then in the hands of confederates. Accordingly, articles were exchanged on the 27th of July, and then proclaimed on the 1st of August.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What course was next pursued ?
2. Where did the Confederate Catholics assemble ?
3. Give some outline of their plan of association.
4. What were their first acts ?
5. How did they next proceed ?
6. What took place between King Charles and the Confederate Catholics ?
7. In what actions did the Earl of Ormond engage ?

8. How were Irish remonstrances accepted by the king?
9. What advantages were now obtained by the Irish?
10. What happened on taking the castle of Cloghleigh?
11. Did Owen Roe O'Neill obtain any results in Ulster?
12. What expedient did government adopt?
13. Narrate the efforts made to procure a cessation of hostilities.
14. What was the issue?
15. What state of feeling prevailed amongst the Confederates?
16. What relations did the Irish establish with foreign powers?
17. Did anything deserving of notice take place in 1644?
18. Was the treaty observed in Ulster and Munster by the government generals?
19. What measures did the Confederate Catholics take?
20. What were the wishes of King Charles, and how were they entertained by Ormond?
21. Did the king take further decided steps?
22. How did the Confederate Catholics act?
23. What happened at the court of Rome?
24. How did Rinnuccini prosecute the mission entrusted to him?
25. What took place at Kilkenny on his arrival?
26. Did any remarkable incidents transpire elsewhere?
27. How did king Charles and the Nuncio act in reference to the treaty?
28. What eventuated?

## LESSON XXXII.

The Ulster Irish oppose the treaty—The battle of Benburb—O'Neill marches southwards—Proceedings of the Papal Nuncio—Siege of Dublin—Subsequent actions of the Confederate Catholics—Dublin surrendered by Ormond to the parliamentary forces—Battle of Dungan Hill—Lord Inchiquin's campaign in Munster—Battle of Knocknoness—Divisions amongst the Confederates—Ormond's arrival from France to conclude a final peace, and departure of the Nuncio-Extraordinary for Rome.\*

[1.] THE Irish of Ulster indignantly rejected this treaty, and it was repudiated equally, in other places, throughout the island. In some of the towns, heralds were prevented by the inhabitants

\* The works, suitable for elucidation of this historic series of events, are, *Marquis of Ormonde's Proclamation of Peace with the Irish Rebels at Kilkenny; the Irish Cabinet, or His Majesty's Secret; Walsh's Reply to a Person of Quality; Budgel's Memoirs of the Boyle Family; Rev. Patrick F. Moran's Historical Sketch of the Persecutions suffered by the Catholics of Ireland under the Rule of Cromwell and the Puritans; The Earl of Glamorgan's Negotiations in Ireland; Burke's History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland; Dr. Lynch's Alithinologia; and Supplementum Alithinologiæ; State Letters of Roger, Earl of Orrery; Pii Antistitis Icon, Sive de Vita et Morte Revmi. Francisci Kirovani, edited, with translation and notes, by Rev. C. P. Meehan; Beling's Vindica Catholicorum Hiberniæ; Ponce's Belingi Vindiciæ Eversæ; St. Leger's De Vita et Morte Illustrissimi Domini Thomæ Valesii, Archiepiscopi Cassiliensis in Hibernia—Antwerpiae, 1655; Marquis of Argyle's Speech and Treaty with the Marquis of Ormond and Irish Rebels; Disputato Apologetica et Manifestiva de Jure Regni Hiberniæ pro Catholicis Hibernis adversus Il-*

from proclaiming it. Cabals and differences of feeling or interest had greatly disconcerted the councils of Irish Catholics. Amongst their generals, the Papal envoy appears to have had sole confidence in the military qualities of O'Neill. [2.] Considering that this treaty afforded no sufficient security for a free exercise of the Catholic religion, and that all the articles had been remitted for a future royal decision on its merits, the Nuncio influenced O'Neill to declare against the confederation. This chieftain agreed to Rinuccini's proposal, as did afterwards Preston, by whom the peace confederates had been supported. [8.] Accordingly, about the end of May, at the head of a considerable army, O'Neill advanced upon Armagh. Munroe, with a force infinitely superior, endeavoured to surprise him at Benburb, on the river Blackwater, where the Irish general had encamped between two small hills. On the 5th June, Munroe crossed the river and advanced upon the Irish. Having previously directed his brother, George, to hasten from Colerain with his troops to form a junction; two Irish regiments had been despatched to prevent this movement, which had come to the knowledge of their general.

*reticos Anglos; A Survey of the late rejected Peace—Kilkenny, 1646; Harold's Lucæ Waddingi Vita.* Harris makes mention of a work, in MS., proposed to be printed by subscription and written by Nicholas Plunkett of Dunshoghlin in the county of Dublin. It was entitled, "A Faithful History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland from its beginning in the year 1641 to its conclusion, &c."

A skirmish of outposts first began. O'Neill cautiously avoided a battle, until the evening, when a body of his troops was attacked by a division of the enemy. At first, taken for a portion of their own army, the Scots observed the returning detachment of O'Neill, in the rear of his position, and the moment was deemed opportune for an attack. Soon, however, the Scottish leader discovered his mistake, and ordered a retreat. O'Neill at once perceived his advantage, and led his men promptly to the charge. Lord Blaney fell at the head of an English regiment, and numbers of the British soldiers were slain. The Scottish cavalry galloped forward, but were speedily repulsed by the Irish horse. On flying towards the river, the British troops found its fords seized by the Irish, and the disordered masses were obliged to plunge into deep water, where numbers of them were drowned. [4.] The Irish made a desperate onset, broke the Scottish troops, and obliged them to fly in the greatest disorder, with the loss of 8,248 men killed, whilst the victors' slain only amounted to seventy, with about 200 wounded. Lord Montgomery, twenty-one officers, and about 150 soldiers were made prisoners. Twenty-two colours, a vast quantity of arms and ammunition, with all the British artillery, tents and provisions were captured by the Irish, who resumed the pursuit next morning.

[5.] This signal victory placed Ulster in the hands of O'Neill. He was soon after recalled southwards by Rinuccini, the Nuncio, to counter-



act the confederate peace. A national synod had been convened at Waterford by the Nuncio, on the 6th of August, and a decree was issued on the 12th, that the peace should be rejected, and that in consequence or defiance of a previous sworn declaration, all consenting to or embracing it, should be regarded as perjurers, because it contained no valid stipulations for the safety of religion or the privileges of this kingdom. [6.] To oppose the Nuncio, Ormond was summoned by members of the confederate peace party, and he was received in Kilkenny, on the 21st of August, with joy and welcome; but he escaped to Dublin with difficulty, as Preston and O'Neill, influenced by Rinuccini, concerted measures for cutting off his retreat to that city. Owen Roe had marched to Leinster with 10,000 men. A comminatory excommunication was issued against those who accepted the peace, as being guilty of perjury; for, in the beginning of their association, an oath had been taken by the confederates, that none of them would accept of any terms, without obtaining the consent of all bound in their solemn league.

[7.] Rinuccini carried matters with a high hand. O'Neill encamped with his army of 12,000 foot and 1,500 horse, near the chief seat of the confederates. On taking possession of Kilkenny, September 18th, Rinuccini confined the supreme council in the castle, and promised Glamorgan, that he should be made lord lieutenant, on Ormond's being driven from Dublin, which was

about to undergo a siege. Against it, an army of 17,000 men, under the command of O'Neill and Preston, was detached, towards the end of October. The Nuncio, meantime, had nominated a new confederate council, consisting of four bishops and eight laymen; over this junta, he was elected as their president. Instead of Lord Muskerry, Glamorgan obtained command over the Munster army. At this very time, it was suspected, that the lord lieutenant had been intriguing to surrender the metropolis to the parliamentary forces, with whom he would combine, in order to attack the Catholics, now that he had lost influence over their deliberations. [8.] Ormond in Dublin made preparations for defence, and although greatly distressed by the refusal of parliament to succour him, he refused such propositions as were sent him by the Irish. Jealousies and enmities between the rival leaders and officers of Leinster and Ulster disconcerted their plans. About the end of October, the Irish forces took up their positions, near the city, where Ormond had wasted the country and destroyed the mills, so that no provisions could be procured or prepared for the besieging army. [9.] Winter set in with great severity, and numbers of the Irish troops suffered the extremities of cold, hunger and fatigue. A great number of deaths took place, as an almost necessary consequence. Instead of attacking the city, the provincial generals were most hostile towards each other, notwithstanding all efforts made by the Papal envoy, to affect a reconciliation between

them. [10.] At one time, it had been almost resolved to imprison Preston, as he had carried on an open correspondence with the lord lieutenant, and he agreed to garrison Dublin, conjointly with Clanrickard, in order to compel the confederate Catholics to accept a peace. This plan of Preston was however relinquished through the influence of Rinuccini, and Ormond felt greatly disappointed. Many ineffectual attempts, to procure a treaty between Ormond and the besiegers, were made, yet without success. At length, it was rumoured that the parliamentary forces had arrived in Dublin. Whereupon, O'Neill decamped in the night, leaving Preston to accept a peace, which he was endeavouring to conclude.

[11.] Meanwhile, the commissioners of parliament and the lord lieutenant, with difficulty, had agreed to the manner in which the soldiers lately arrived should be provided for; after some delay, they were conveyed to Ulster. At last, Preston agreed to act under the marquis, who despatched him to Kilkenny, whither Ormond promised to follow him with his forces. The Nuncio's agents met Preston on his march, and prevailed on him to join with their employer, and proclaim his rejection of the treaty. This he accordingly did, and Ormond, who had begun his march, retired to Dublin, where after some time a parliament was convened. It was then agreed, that Ormond should surrender to the English parliamentarians on their own terms. This was what the confederates principally feared; but, although they sought an ae-

commodation with him, their overtures were rejected.

[12.] After the confederate forces had returned to Kilkenny, a new general assembly was convened, on the 10th of January, 1647. The members of the old council had been released from prison, as their confinement had been generally considered a harsh and impolitic measure. [13.] Angry discussions ensued, and after a lapse of three weeks, it was resolved, that the treaty with Ormond should be deemed invalid, as not providing sufficient security for the religion, lives and estates of the confederate Catholics. Only twelve, out of 300 members present, voted against this resolution. [14.] They agreed to the formula of a new oath, for maintaining their union, until they should enjoy, viz., a free and public exercise of the Catholic religion, as in the reign of Henry VII., or of any former king; a repeal of all the laws framed against professors of the Catholic faith, since the reign of Henry VIII.; together with possession of churches and church livings for the Catholic clergy, in all places occupied by the confederates, or which might afterwards be recovered by them. Until these conditions were obtained, the confederates were pledged to maintain a hostile attitude. [15.] On the 8th of March, the assembly published a proclamation, calling on all Catholics to assert these rights. Those, who refused to take this oath, were denounced as traitors to country and religion.

[16.] Owen Roe O'Neill was appointed com-

mander of the Ulster and Connaught forces ; whilst Preston was re-appointed to the leadership of the Leinster army, although much distrust was felt in his fidelity to the cause. The troops in Munster, however, mutinied against their newly-appointed general, Glamorgan, and insisted on having Muskerry re-instated. This concession they obtained ; but soon afterwards, the command was transferred to a vain and incompetent Ormondist, Lord Taaffe. Lord Inchiquin devastated the south in every direction, and almost without resistance. With an empty treasury, the confederates were obliged to make extraordinary sacrifices to continue their resistance ; for they found, that Ormond was unyielding to their demands, although they were not aware of his private negotiations with the rebel parliament.

[17.] On the 19th of June, a treaty was signed, and during the following month Ormond delivered the Castle of Dublin and the royal ornaments to parliamentarian commissioners. For this service, they presented him the sum of £5,000 in hand, with a gold chain and medal. They also promised him a yearly annuity of £2,000, but they would not trust this able and wily nobleman with any important position, having well-founded distrust in his fidelity to their cause. He soon afterwards sailed for England, and then passed over to France.

[18.] Colonel Jones was appointed, by parliament, commander of the forces. Lord Digby, at the head of a Munster and Leinster army, ad-

vanced against him and defeated him in two battles. [19.] Endeavouring to surprise Dublin, Preston was prevented by Jones, who overtook him at Dungan Hill, in Meath, where a desperate battle was fought, which ended in a total defeat of the former, who had there encamped with his forces, consisting of 7,000 foot, 1,000 horse, and 4 cannons. The army of Jones amounted to 12,000 foot and 700 horse, with 2 pieces of artillery. Preston had been strongly intrenched, and in a good position; but with his usual want of consideration, he ordered his men from their breast-works, to charge down the hill on their parliamentary foes. Under these circumstances, the Irish artillery was rendered useless. Their cavalry had also been placed most injudiciously in marshy ground, where they could not act with effect. After a brave resistance, against the firm phalanx of Jones' army, the Irish were driven into a bog, where after all resistance had been at an end, they were slaughtered without mercy. The English are said to have lost only 20 men, whilst 5,470 of the Irish were left dead on the field.

[20.] This seemed a crushing blow for the confederates; but Owen Roe O'Neill marched towards the scene of this disaster, at the head of 12,000 men, and soon obliged Jones to retreat upon Dublin, having followed him to Castleknock. But the Irish leader felt himself in no condition to undertake a siege of the metropolis.

[21.] Meantime, Inchiquin, who commanded the parliamentary army in Munster, in the

month of September, took possession of Cahir and Cashel, at which latter place, he massacred citizens, soldiers, and many of the clergy. Having refused to pay a contribution of £3,000 for the maintenance of his army, the walls of Cashel were battered with cannon, and the city was taken by storm. The garrison was massacred almost without resistance. Men, women and children were butchered in the streets, houses, and within the fine old cathedral, on the Rock; the number of victims, on this sanguinary day, being estimated at 3,000 souls. Inchiquin afterwards took possession of Fethard, but retreated from Clonmel, which was defended by the brave Sir Alexander MacDonnell, better known by the designation, Colkitto, otherwise Colla Ciotach, or, Colla the left-handed. [22.] Lord Taaffe, who opposed him at Knocknoness, was defeated, in the month of November. Inchiquin had been encamped at Mallow, with a force of 6,000 foot and 1,200 horse; whilst Lord Taaffe, with over 7,000 infantry and nearly 1,200 cavalry, advanced from Kanturk, to the hill already named. Here he occupied a good position. [23.] His right wing, commanded by Sir Alexander MacDonnell and supported by Colonel Purcell, charged upon Inchiquin's left wing, and pursued it flying, for two miles, with great slaughter, whilst taking possession of the artillery. But Lord Taaffe had allowed himself to be surrounded by a detachment of horse, which vigorously charged his men from the rear. In a moment, they were thrown into confu-

sion, and fell before the swords of their enemies. The northern troops, under MacDonnell, returning from their victorious pursuit, were surprised and cut to pieces by the forces of Inchiquin. [24.] No quarter was given to the vanquished, and 1,000 are said to have fallen in the flight and massacre. For this action, parliament voted £10,000, for Inchiquin's soldiers, and £1,000, as a personal gratuity.

[25.] In the very unpromising state of the royal cause in England, and of their own in Ireland, the confederates resolved on sending agents to Rome and France, in 1648. They wanted money and warlike materials. It was deemed advisable to place the country under a foreign protectorate.

[26.] But, the intriguing Ormond baffled all negotiations of the Irish envoys, at the French court.

[27.] Meanwhile, Inchiquin seemed disposed to desert the cause of the parliamentarians, which he had lately espoused, and had entered upon indirect negotiations with members of the supreme council in Kilkenny. He proposed a truce, and wished to obtain a stipend for his mercenary army. [28.]

After considerable opposition and energetic remonstrance by Rinuccini, a truce was signed at Dungan, on the 20th of May. It was declared, the Catholics should not be molested in the exercise of their religious duties; but its practices would not be tolerated in any of Lord Inchiquin's garrisons or stations. Preston and Inchiquin united their forces to march against O'Neill, who inflexibly adhered to the Papal envoy. [29.] As a last re-



source, Rinuccini felt himself obliged to leave Kilkenny, and seek protection in the camp of Owen Roe, at Maryborough. But, on the morning of May 27th, he had previously posted, on the gates of Kilkenny Cathedral, a sentence of excommunication against all abettors of the truce, with an interdict against the people of cities, towns and villages, where it would be either received or observed.

[80.] The confederates now determined to conclude a peace with the king, who was detained as a prisoner in England. They engaged, in their designs, Lords Inchiquin and Broaghil, with the Scots of Ulster. This meditated peace was immediately received by all the Catholics, except a party headed by Owen O'Neill, who still held an independent position, although with a greatly diminished military force. [81.] Preston had a numerous army, ready to attack this northern leader; however, many of these men deserted his standard, owing to the denunciations of Rinuccini. The latter endeavoured to convoke a national synod, but failed. [82.] O'Neill next made a truce with Munroe and the Ulster Scots, who disapproved of republican proceedings in England. This Irish leader then declared war against the temporising confederates, in the month of June. He was allowed, by Jones, to march through Leinster, in order to seize upon Kilkenny and the supreme council there assembled. This design was discovered by Inchiquin, Preston and Clanrickard. As a matter of course it failed, but O'Neill skilfully

cluded their combined movements to intercept his retreat into Ulster.

[83.] The Marquis of Antrim, who had returned from France, raised an army in Ulster and Leinster, to support O'Neill and the Nuncio. [84.] He was, however, defeated by Inchiquin. This latter general and the supreme council had invited Ormond to cross over from France. At length, that nobleman returned to Ireland, and a peace was concluded on the 17th of January, 1649, in the city of Kilkenny. [85.] The articles of this treaty granted conditions to the Irish Catholics of a favourable nature. But they came too late, in affording any advantages either to that persecuted body or to the king, who was executed at Whitehall, on the 30th of that same month. Finding all his hopes and prospects frustrated, on February 28rd, Rinuccini sailed in a frigate from Galway, directing his return to Rome.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. How was the treaty received by the northern Irish ?
2. What course did Rinuccini pursue ?
3. Describe the movements that secured O'Neill a great victory at Benburb.
4. What were the relative losses on either side ?
5. What followed ?
6. How did Ormond act ?
7. Did the Italian Nuncio adopt energetic measures to control the supreme council ?
8. What precautions did Ormond take in Dublin ?
9. What disconcerted the Irish besiegers and their designs ?
10. Was Preston suspected of any intrigue with the lord lieutenant ?

11. What other events took place?
12. How did Rinuccini proceed at Kilkenny in the commencement of 1647?
13. On what did the confederate Catholics now resolve?
14. What agreement was made?
15. What proclamation followed?
16. What military appointments did the confederates sanction?
17. How did the parliamentary forces obtain possession of Dublin?
18. Who got command of these soldiers?
19. What great victory did he obtain soon after his appointment?
20. How did O'Neill act after Preston's defeat?
21. What occurred in Munster?
22. How did the battle of Knocknoness commence?
23. What were its alternations of success and defeat?
24. State its disastrous issue.
25. What was the next resolution of the Irish confederates?
26. How were they met by Ormond?
27. What line of policy and action did Inchiquin now adopt?
28. Were his proceedings approved by Rinuccini?
29. What did the latter afterwards?
30. Was he sustained by the confederates?
31. What effect did the excommunication and interdict produce upon Preston's soldiers?
32. What were O'Neill's next movements?
33. By whom were they supported?
34. What led immediately to the conclusion of a peace?
35. Were its terms considered generally acceptable to the Irish Catholics under the existing aspect of their affairs?

## LESSON XXXIII.

Conflict of parties and opinions—Ormond's defeat near Dublin—Oliver Cromwell lands in Ireland—Siege and massacre of Drogheda—Cruelties at Wexford—Death of Owen Roe O'Neill—Cromwell's campaign—Siege of Limerick by Ireton—Final submission of the Catholics—Their social, political and religious disabilities—Henry Cromwell governs Ireland until the death of his father, Oliver—Restoration of King Charles II. announced in Ireland.\*

[1.] ORMOND had proclaimed the Prince of Wales as King Charles II. in Cork and Youghal; the same empty ceremony had been observed at Kinsale, by Prince Rupert, who had entered that harbour with sixteen frigates, during the month of February, 1649. [2.] Meantime, the parliamentarians had contrived to supplant Munroe; for he was seized by General Monck, at Carrickfergus, and sent as a prisoner to England. The Ulster Scots inclined to the side of royalty, whilst the peace party of the confederacy looked to Ormond and Inchiquin as leaders. Owen Roe O'Neill held aloof, watching the chances of alliance with any party which might afford him the best political and

\* The historical authorities for this period of interregnum, are, Carlyle's *Life and Letters of Oliver Cromwell*; Thuroloe's *Papers*; Morrice's *Life of the Earl of Orrery*; Bruodine's *Propugnaculum Catholicæ Veritatis*—Pragæ, 1668; Ludlow's *Memoirs*; Petty's *Political Anatomy of Ireland*; *Orders of the Council for the affairs of Ireland*, in the State Paper Office, Dublin Castle.

religious securities, that could then be obtained for the national cause. At length, he declared for the parliamentarians, although distrusting the terms offered to secure himself and his followers perfect religious toleration and a restoration of their estates.

[3.] O'Neill and the parliamentary forces now leagued to prevent Ormond and Inchiquin uniting with the Ulster royalists. Whilst Ormond advanced to invest Dublin, Inchiquin besieged and took Drogheda from the republicans, on the 30th of June. [4.] After various successes, Inchiquin then joined Ormond to carry on the siege of Dublin. Their united bands were however too weak to produce any impression on its walls, manned as they were with a numerous and well-disciplined garrison. After some ineffectual manœuvres around the city, and owing to a surprise at Baggot-rath, by Colonel Michael Jones, Ormond was defeated at Dublin, on the 2nd of August, 1649. He is said to have lost, on this occasion, 4,000 men killed in battle, or afterwards, when quarter had been granted : 2,500 were made prisoners, with all the artillery, baggage and munition of war. The royalists dispersed in various directions : Ormond escaped, with a portion of his discomfited army, to Kilkenny, whilst some took refuge in Drogheda. Thither, Colonel Jones marched, but was obliged to retrace his steps upon Dublin, to avoid the advance of Ormond. [5.] Cromwell landed there soon afterwards. A treaty was concluded, on the October following, O'Neill

agreeing to join with the confederates, as he had reason to fear the threats and bad faith of the parliamentarians.

[6.] Cromwell brought an army, consisting of 9,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, with a park of artillery and an abundant supply of money. Commissary-general Ireton, his son-in-law, had also landed, so that the parliamentary forces in Dublin exceeded 16,000 soldiers. Cromwell, who had now assumed command in Ireland, prosecuted the war with vigour, and took several towns. During this war, his brutality kept pace with his success; as he put the garrison defenders of every town, that made any resistance, to death, in order that he might terrify others, from following their example. [7.] Towards the end of August, Cromwell marched upon Drogheda, defended by a royalist garrison of 3,000 veterans, commanded by Sir Arthur Aston, a Catholic Englishman. After a desperate and continued fire of artillery, large breaches were effected in the walls. An obstinate resistance on the part of the brave defenders was unavailing: the town was taken by storm, and a scene of unrelenting butchery followed, for the space of five days. Every man, woman and child of Irish extraction, found within the city, was put to the sword, after 3,000 of the yielding garrison had been slain in cold blood. This fiendish slaughter has probably never been surpassed in relentless barbarity. Its atrocity was however equalled by the cool and canting profanity with which he announced, that

“God alone should have all the glory” of this savage victory.

[8.] With the exception of Carrickfergus, all the other important stations of the north fell into the hands of parliamentarians. Cromwell returned to Dublin, on the 16th of September, marched through Wicklow and took Arklow on his way to Wexford. [9.] This latter city is supposed to have been betrayed by its governor, Stafford ; and again the frightful tragedy of Drogheda was repeated. Cromwell estimated the number of Irish slain on this occasion at 2,000, whilst from first to last the besiegers did not lose 20 men. He afterwards recommended the parliament to send over English Protestants, to take possession of the town property, as there were few survivors left to dispute future claims.

[10.] After some negotiations between them, Owen Roe O'Neill engaged to furnish Ormond with 6,000 men. They arranged terms for mutual support and action. However, the death of Owen O'Neill, which followed soon after the conclusion of this peace, gave the confederates and their cause a severe check. On the 8th of August, he was seized with illness before Derry, where he was encamped. He then ordered his nephew, lieutenant-general Hugh Duv O'Neill, to conduct the promised reinforcements to join Ormond. The dying chief lingered on to the 6th of November, when he died at Cloughouter Castle, in Cavan. He was reputed to be the best and bravest commander in the kingdom.

[11.] Ireton was next sent to besiege Duncannon, defended by Colonel Wogan. The parliamentary general was obliged to raise this siege after a few days. Cromwell was more successful against New Ross, which was taken on the 18th of October. Over the river Barrow, at this place, a bridge of boats was constructed. Many of the confederate soldiers deserted from their colours and joined Cromwell. On the 24th November, this general appeared before Waterford, but he thought it advisable to retreat upon Dungarvan, which surrendered to him.

[12.] In the beginning of 1650, Cromwell commenced his campaign by taking several castles in Tipperary and Kilkenny counties. After a brave defence, whilst a fearful pestilence raged within its walls, the city of Kilkenny was obliged to capitulate, on the 28th of March. [13.] The town of Clonmel was the only place, where he met with a regular opposition. In two different assaults, his troops were repulsed with dreadful carnage. Hugh Duv O'Neill was the commandant of this garrison for the Irish. This post was only surrendered, when the garrison failed in procuring ammunition from the people of Waterford. The English leader lost 2,500 of his men before the walls of Clonmel. [14.] After spending some time in Ireland, Cromwell sailed from Youghal, on the 29th of May, and returned to England, leaving the prosecution of the Irish war to his generals, Ireton and Ludlow.

[15.] These followed it up with success, and



took several castles and towns from the natives. In Ulster, the Bishop of Clogher, Heber Mac Mahon, was defeated by Sir Charles Coote and Colonel Venables, on the 21st of June. The bishop was made prisoner, near Omagh, and hanged by order of Coote. Preston surrendered the city of Waterford to Ireton, on the 10th of August, and Duncannon soon fell under the parliamentary power. Hardly any portion of Ireland, besides the province of Connaught and the county of Clare, now remained in possession of the Catholics. The garrison of Limerick had prepared to offer a vigorous resistance. [16.] Early in 1651, Ireton pressed Limerick with a close siege, whilst this city was gallantly defended by Hugh O'Neill, its governor. Sir Charles Coote took possession of Athlone, and by some skilful movements, Ireton was enabled to invest Limerick, on all sides. A destructive plague raged within this city. Several of the English soldiers fell before its walls, in different assaults between them and the defenders. After holding out for three months, the garrison being straitened by famine, and enfeebled by pestilence, the citizens surrendered upon articles. Twenty-four persons were however exempted from quarter. Soon after the surrender of Limerick, Ireton was infected with the plague, and he died on the 26th of November. [17.] Previous to this event, the confederates were offered advantageous terms, if they would submit to the parliamentary forces. These they rejected, in a general assembly at Loughrea.

Soon afterwards, the bishops and clergy met at Jamestown, Leitrim county, whence they deputed messengers recommending James, Duke of Ormond, to withdraw from the kingdom, and to delegate the royal authority to some more popular and trustworthy person. His intriguing disposition and a suspicion of leaguings with the Cromwellians warranted this strong language. He replied, however, that necessity alone would compel him to leave Ireland.

[18.] The Irish Catholics had all along expected assistance from Prince Charles, who was then an exile. But news was received from Scotland, that he had there signed a declaration, pronouncing the Irish peace to be null and void, and that he would not tolerate the Catholic religion. [19.] Sentence of excommunication was published against all, who would adhere to Ormond, or support Cromwell's government. [20.] At length, Ormond and Inchiquin, with some other distinguished adherents, sailed from Galway, in the middle of December, 1650, and landed at St. Malo, in France. Ludlow assumed command of the parliamentary forces after Ireton's death. On the 12th of May, 1652, Galway surrendered to Sir Charles Coote. On the 27th of June, Ludlow took from Lord Muskerry the strong Castle of Ross, so beautifully situated on the romantic shores of Killarney's Lakes. Clanrickard, who had succeeded Ormond, was surrounded at Carrick, on the 11th of October, but he received permission to leave Ireland, with 3,000 of his followers. Their hopes at length

failing, and all their strongholds being now possessed by their enemies, the Irish Catholics were obliged to submit, on the best terms that could be obtained.

[21.] On the 12th of August, 1652, an act had been passed in the English parliament, for the settlement of Ireland. This amounted to an almost entire confiscation of all the landed property, in Ireland, belonging to Catholics. [22.] The whole kingdom was surveyed and mapped by Dr. Petty, in order to be parcelled out amongst adventurers, who had advanced money for carrying on the wars, or amongst Cromwell's soldiers, to whom arrears of pay were due. The parliamentarians also established what they termed high courts of justice, to convict all those implicated in massacre or murder, committed since the 1st of October, 1641. These high courts of justice only condemned 200 persons in all Ireland, notwithstanding the prejudices existing in the minds of judges and juries, against the accused, and a host of corrupt and interested witnesses cited.

[23.] Most of the Irish soldiers, eager to serve their prince abroad, since they could not do so at home, were allowed to depart for France and Spain. They accordingly entered into the service of either country, according as the king remained there, or quitted it, when he thought fit to retire. The number of Irish that followed him consisted at least of 25,000 men; other accounts swell the number to 34,000. Several thousand of the common people, that remained behind, were banished and sold as

slaves for the West Indies ; numbers of the Catholic nobility were publicly executed. Those considered less guilty were sent into Connaught and to the county of Clare, where they were obliged to remain under pain of death. The latter were permitted to enjoy such portions of land, as the Athlone court of claims thought fit to allot them, on condition that they should be able to prove themselves innocent of having participated in the late rebellion.

[24.] The penal laws of Elizabeth were next revived in all their rigour. A Catholic priest found in Ireland was deemed guilty of high treason, and liable to be hanged, drawn and quartered. The same price was set on the head of a priest and on that of a wolf: the production of either entitled the claimant to a reward of five pounds. Those persons, harbouring or concealing a priest, were subject to forfeiture of life and goods, or to severe corporal punishment. Absence from the established state worship was punished by fine. Those who would refuse an oath to abjure their religion were liable to imprisonment during pleasure, or to a forfeiture of real or personal property. Every effort was made to root the Catholic religion out of this island, whilst its professors were subjected to the most galling oppression and degradation.

[25.] After the death of Ireton, Fleetwood was appointed to command the army ; Ludlow, Jones, Weaver and Corbet were made commissioners. The first of these, being a zealous republican,

resigned his post, when it became known that Cromwell had been declared protector, on the 16th of December. [26.] Henry Cromwell, son of the lord protector, received a commission from his father in 1655, as governor of Ireland. His natural disposition led him to desire just and lenient measures, in fulfilment of duties, appertaining to his office. Yet the spirit of intolerance urged him to execute the iniquitous laws, then in operation. Oliver Cromwell appears to have taken little personal interest, in the affairs of Ireland, during the period of his administration. Nothing of special interest occurred, until after the death of this extraordinary man, on the 3rd of September, 1658. [27.] A number of royalists met in Dublin. They seized upon the Castle, and on some of those, who were opposed to the king's restoration. Limerick, Clonmel, Drogheda, Carlow, with other considerable towns, were given up to them. Several garrisons declared for a free parliament. Charles II. was proclaimed, with every demonstration of joy, throughout Ireland. The royalists expected to be restored to their estates, on his accession; whilst the only persons, that had reason to tremble at a realization of this event, were those who had acquired unjustly the estates of native loyalist proprietors.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. Did Ormond adopt any particular line of conduct at this time?
2. How were the various parties in Ireland now divided?
3. How did they afterwards coalesce?

4. What happened at the siege of Dublin?
5. What remarkable personage next appeared in Ireland?
6. What were his resources and policy?
7. Describe the siege of Drogheda.
8. What followed?
9. Were any massacres perpetrated at Wexford?
10. Who died about this time?
11. Did Cromwell and Ireton engage in any particular enterprises?
12. How did the campaign of 1650 open?
13. What occurred at Clonmel?
14. When did Cromwell leave Ireland?
15. What happened subsequently?
16. Narrate some incidents regarding Ireton's siege of Limerick.
17. What acts now tended to distract and divide the royalists?
18. What intelligence next reached the Irish Catholics?
19. On receipt of this news, how did the Irish bishops act?
20. What were the consequent results?
21. What took place in 1652?
22. Was the government engaged on any peculiarly arbitrary process?
23. What were the results of this Irish persecution?
24. Recount the chief penal laws enforced against the Catholics.
25. What men were placed in high positions, after the death of Ireton?
26. Who was entrusted with a direction of Irish affairs, A.D. 1655?
27. What happened in Ireland immediately after Cromwell's death?

## LESSON XXXIV.

The Acts of Settlement and Explanation—The Irish Remonstrance—Irish trade and commerce—Popular rumours and ferment—The Irish Catholics' petition for redress—Ormond's recall and re-appointment—Persecution of Catholics—Martyrdom of Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh.\*

[1.] SOON after the exiled prince's restoration, Coote, created Earl of Mountrath, and Broghill, Earl of Orrery, were nominated lords justices.

\* Works useful for reference: Southwell's *Life of Ormond*; Rt. Rev. Dr. French's *Bleeding Iphigenia, and Unkind Deserter of Loyal Men and True Friends*; Burnet's *History of his own Times*; Mant's *History of the Church in Ireland*; Walsh's *History and Vindication of the Loyal Formulary, or Irish Remonstrance in 1661, against all calumnies and censures in several treatises*—Dublin, 1666; Thorpe's collection of pamphlets—1641 to 1690; Challoner's *Lives of Missionary Priests*; Sir John Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*; Rev. P. J. Moran's *Memoirs of the Most Rev. Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh*; and various Roman MSS. referred to in this valuable work; *State of Ireland*—12mo, London, A.D. 1673; Nary's *History of Ireland*; Rev. George Crolly's *Life and Death of Oliver Plunket*; Sir Richard Bulstrode's *Memoirs and Reflections upon the Reign and Government of King Charles I. and King Charles II.*; Charles J. Fox's *Historical Works*; Archdekin's *Lives of Peter Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, and of Oliver Plunket, Primate of Ireland*, in his *Theologia Tripartita*. There are records preserved in the Custom House, Dublin, as also amongst the Irish Ordnance Survey Office MSS., which present very important particulars, in reference to the forfeited lands affected by the Act of Settlement and Explanation.

The former foes of royalty, also interested, implacable enemies of the Irish creed and race, obtained all offices to which power and influence belonged. [2.] One of the first acts of Charles II.'s reign was a drawing up of his famous declaration for the settlement of Ireland. The parties to be provided for, according to this plan, were classed under three distinct heads. First, the Irish Catholics who had been dispossessed of their lands. Secondly, Cromwell's soldiers, who had been allotted Irish lands, in lieu of their arrears. Lastly, the officers who had served the king in Ireland before 1649, and whose arrears still remained unpaid. It was provided, that soldiers and other adventurers should be settled in the lands possessed by them, and that these properties must be for ever securely confirmed to them and to their heirs. The officers, otherwise termed '49 men, were to receive houses, estates and securities in corporation towns, throughout the kingdom, and in addition to these rewards, a considerable sum of money, although many of them were engaged in rebellion, before the year 1649. But they were allowed a benefit from this act, if they could only make it appear, that they afterwards endeavoured to effect a restoration of their king. Irish Catholics, who were the undoubted friends of royalty, were also to obtain settlements; not however, until those already in possession of their forfeited estates had been completely compensated. It was directed, that those, who had not engaged in a war with the confederates, until after the peace of 1648, must be



put in possession of their estates, when the present possessors were indemnified for contingent losses. Those, who served his majesty abroad, were to obtain possession of their estates; not, however, until the settlers, now in possession, should be otherwise satisfied. As for those, entitled to benefit by the peace of '48, the king declared, that justice should be done them, and that the terms of this treaty should be fulfilled.

[3.] At a meeting of parliament, on the 8th of May, 1661, and after an adjournment lasting for twenty years, the original Cromwellian party, in the House of Commons, considerably preponderated. Even in the Upper House, where twenty-one Catholics and seventy-two Protestant peers assembled, it was proposed that all the members should receive the sacrament at the hands of Bramhall, the Anglican Archbishop of Armagh, and be required, moreover, to take an oath, affirming the king's spiritual supremacy. These measures would be tantamount to the total exclusion of Catholics. The Cromwellian members, eager to be secured in their ill-acquired estates, endeavoured to get the bill of settlement passed, so as to answer their purposes. After some opposition from the lords, this bill was transmitted to England, to receive approbation of the king and his council. The advisers of Charles were entirely devoted to all interests of the Irish Cromwellian party. [4.] To counteract these designs, the Roman Catholics despatched agents, to represent hardships which they must endure, if that proposed bill passed into a law. [5.] The

other party raised a considerable sum of money, which was expended in bribing all those, who had any interest with the king ; and, their corrupt efforts were at length successful. Sir Nicholas Plunkett, agent of the Irish Catholics, by a special resolution of the council, was excluded from the royal presence. It was ruled, that the claims of dispossessed Irish Catholic loyalists should be deemed impolitic and unreasonable. The bill was engrossed, and shortly afterwards passed by both Houses. It was forbidden, that any petition should hereafter be received from the Catholics of Ireland. The execution of this act of settlement was entrusted to English commissioners, who held a court in Dublin to decide on claims of those who were "nocent" or "innocent" of the late rebellion. Although it was morally impossible, to come within the prescribed bounds of innocency, so rigorously were all enactments framed ; yet, the far greater number of applicants had their claims allowed. These admissions, however, did not secure their estates for the dispossessed, in all instances, but only established a claim to other lands, which government might have within its disposal, and which were classed under the denomination of "reprisals." Ormond, who proved himself a determined enemy of the Irish Catholics, had received his appointment as lord lieutenant, and vast sums of money were voted to him, with abundant emoluments and patronage, as ample recompense for his services rendered to the king.

[6.] Atrocious calumnies against Catholics be-

gan to receive industrious circulation throughout England and Ireland, so that the prejudices and fears of Protestants were constantly kept in a state of fanatical excitement. In Ireland the Puritan party became violent and disaffected. The court of inquiry, being a source of great alarm to Cromwellians, they accordingly devised a plan, for seizing upon the Castle of Dublin and for raising a rebellion. Some members of the House of Commons, a few military officers and Puritan ministers, had leagued with a man named Blood. The Castle was to have been seized on the 21st of May, 1663. The Duke of Ormond, who was lord lieutenant, discovered these designs, and apprehended a number of the conspirators, four of whom were hanged. The attempt to procure men and arms proved also a complete failure.

[7.] Ormond was now recalled to England, to assist in forming a new bill. This wily statesman, convinced that he must keep Protestant interests in view and maintain such ascendancy in Ireland, obtained the passing of his Act of Explanation. It provided that Protestants should be guaranteed possession of their estates, in the first instance. All ambiguity arising in the terms of this Act were to be explained in their favour. Ormond was commissioned to name twenty Catholics whose estates should be restored. In this it was decreed, that no Catholic, who had not been declared "innocent" by the qualification, should be entitled to claim any lands. Owing to this iniquitous decree, 8,000 persons were denied even

the appearance of a trial, and all places in Ireland were assigned to adventurers and soldiers ; whilst the lawful possessors were turned out of doors, and reduced to beggary and actual starvation. No less than 5,000 Irish Catholic gentlemen, never subjected to outlawry, were excluded by law from possession of their estates.

[8.] Some of the Irish Catholic nobles and gentry assembled in Dublin, about this time, to frame a declaration known as the Irish Remonstrance. An intriguing and ambitious friar, named Peter Walsh, was the author, who drew up this address of loyalty to the king. In the Confederation of Kilkenny, he had been one of the most zealous partizans of Ormond, and still acted in his interest. The Remonstrance contained, with strong protestations of loyalty, certain admissions opposed to Catholic feeling in reference to the Pope. The Irish bishops and clergy were allowed by Ormond to meet in Dublin, June, 1666, with a view of consulting on this matter. The lord lieutenant desired this address to be signed by all the Catholic clergy in Ireland, holding out expectation of favours and privileges, as consequent advantages. [9.] The bishops and clergy discussed the scope and terms of this declaration, which was rejected, whilst another less objectionable, yet respectful, royal Remonstrance was framed. They sent two bishops to submit this instrument to Ormond, with a petition, that it should be presented to his majesty. The lord lieutenant felt indignant at this manifestation of duty and self-

respect. He ordered the synod to disperse, and an active persecution was thenceforth directed against the Catholic Church and her venerated pastors.

[10.] In consequence of a depression in Irish trade, Ormond turned his attention to the commercial improvement of this country. The woollen trade, in particular, had almost disappeared in Ireland, owing to the unjust prohibitory laws passed against free importation by the parliament of England. Still, the sturdy Protestant yeomanry of this island, finding their interests sacrificed to this spirit of monopoly and exclusion, co-operated with their able director of Irish affairs to remedy the evils pressing on native industrial pursuits. Manufacturers settled in various parts of Ireland, particularly in the south; and skilful persons were sent to the low countries, in order that they might learn the method and process used there for the growth of flax.

[11.] As an instance of the national antipathy, which Englishmen entertained towards Ireland, at this time, their representatives voted, that the importation of Irish cattle was a "nuisance," in a parliament, held A. D. 1666. Strange to say, this vote was affirmed by the king, whilst it originated from a proposition made by Ormond and the Irish gentry, to send over 15,000 bullocks, as a means of averting starvation from those, who suffered by the great London conflagration. This virulent proceeding, however, gave rise to violent speeches and dissension in the English parliament. It suspended, in a great degree, the traffic between both

nations. The importation of several commodities, from Scotland, was prohibited as injurious to the trade of Ireland; and the production of flax and hemp was expressly encouraged, by an act of parliament, passed in Dublin.

[12.] Sham plots were now patronised in Ireland, as they had so prosperously succeeded in England, the object held in view having been to render the religion of Catholics odious to the English people. Rumours of Papist risings, at home, and expectations of foreign succours, from Catholic nations abroad, were prevalent amongst the Irish Puritans, who were in constant communication with their sympathisers in England. [13.] It is quite evident, from the private correspondence of Ormond, that he disbelieved these reports; yet he took occasion, despite this conviction, to persecute Irish Catholics, in accordance with the wishes of their worst enemies, and perhaps to gratify his own prejudices and inclinations. He organized a Protestant militia, which he reviewed on the Curragh of Kildare, during the summer of 1667.

[14.] These acts, however, arrayed a powerful party against Ormond, who was obliged to resign his government to Lord Roberts, on his departure for England, in 1668. His deputy did not hold the appointment for any considerable length of time. Having displeased many in Ireland, he was obliged to resign the lord lieutenancy to Lord Berkley, in May, 1670. This nobleman, who was upright and tolerant, gave considerable satisfaction to the Irish Catholics, until Puritanical

jealousy became aroused and an outcry was raised against him. This sectional feeling and ferment influenced his recall, after an administration of only two years' duration.

[15.] Notwithstanding the unjust partiality shown by the king to his rebel subjects, who had all along cherished republican sentiments; they, nevertheless, formed another plot against him and his government, in 1671, but this also miscarried. An attempt was made by some mutinous soldiers, to take possession of Carrickfergus Castle, having, previously, complained of arrears being due them; they were, however, soon reduced to obedience. Although treated mildly, even on this occasion, their discontent was not allayed. They only waited for the success of their brother-conspirators in England, in order to renew these designs with effect, and then establish a republican form of government.

[16.] The Irish Catholic gentry, who had been deprived of their estates, commissioned Colonel Richard Talbot to present a petition for redress to the king and his council. [17.] Their active agent succeeded in having a committee of inquiry constituted for the purpose. This committee presented an unfavourable report; in January, 1678, however, a decree was issued for inquiry respecting the manner in which the acts of settlement and explanation had worked, in reference to forfeitures and royal fiscal profits or revenues: But, the timid and irresolute monarch was induced to revoke his own directions, owing to the intolerant and tyrannical parliament of England, instigated

by the Irish Puritans, representing there what was termed, "the new interest."

[18.] Lord Essex, who had been appointed to succeed Berkley, had received instructions to repress Popery, during the period of his administration. But, in August, 1677, Ormond was sent over, once more, as lord lieutenant of Ireland.

[19.] Orders were sent him, from the English secretary of state, during the following year, directing the apprehension of Peter Talbot, Catholic archbishop of Dublin, on the false ground of being concerned in a fictitious Popish plot. [20.] He was at once arrested, near Maynooth, and confined in Dublin Castle. Proclamations were next issued, requiring all titular archbishops, bishops, vicars-general and dignitaries of the Romish Church, as also, all Jesuits and other regular clergy, to depart from this kingdom by the 20th of November. It was further required, that all Popish convents, seminaries, societies and schools should dissolve. Tempting rewards were held out to informers, who would denounce Catholics, complying with the requirements of their religion. Strict search was made after the bishops, parish priests and regular clergy, yet remaining in this kingdom. Exaggerated rumours of pretended Popish conspiracies were purposely circulated; and great precautions were taken, lest any considerable number of Catholics should congregate within the chief cities and towns of Ireland.

[21.] On the presumption, for which the slightest tangible evidence did not exist, that the Irish



Catholic clergy and laity were concocting treasonable practices and designs, orders for the arrest of influential persons arrived from England. A proposition was entertained for the introduction of the English penal laws and Test Act into this country, whilst rewards calculated to excite the cupidity and malignant ingenuity of the basest class of informers, spies, apostates and abandoned characters were freely bestowed, to procure the conviction of men, renowned for the sanctity of their lives, and the value of their services to religion and country. Oliver Plunket, the venerable Catholic archbishop of Armagh, was falsely accused of having endeavoured to introduce the French into Ireland, to raise a native army of 70,000 men for their support, and to solicit foreign powers for assistance. [22.] Arrested near Drogheda, on the 6th of December, 1679, he was committed to Newgate prison, in Dublin, for exercising his legitimate jurisdiction and ecclesiastical functions. Then followed a concocted charge of treason. He was refused a trial in Ireland, where he had witnesses to prove his innocence. Upon the testimony of corrupt and perjured witnesses, and statements that bore extrinsic and intrinsic evidences of fabrication, with malice prepense, on the part of wretched accusers, this pious prelate was condemned, hanged, drawn and quartered, on the 1st of July, in the year 1681, at Tyburn, in England.

[23.] Out of evil, a certain measure of good is often produced, and a reaction in public opinion followed, after the death of this just and holy mar-

tyr, both in England and Ireland. He was the last victim directly put to death in these realms for a profession and maintenance of the Catholic faith. In Ireland, Ormond appeared, and really exerted himself, either from policy or conviction, to repress the persecuting spirit of existing penal laws. On the 6th of February, 1685, Charles II. died, having been received into the bosom of the Catholic Church, a few hours previously; and the last public act of Ormond's life in Ireland was a proclamation of King James II. as King of Great Britain and Ireland. An order for the duke's resignation, couched in kind and courteous terms, soon afterwards followed. A thorough knowledge of his insincere, restless and intriguing disposition rendered this measure necessary and most assuredly wise, as a matter of precaution. Thus deprived of all power and influence, this able diplomatist went over to England and retired into private life, until he had nearly completed the seventy-eighth year of his age. On August 4th, 1688, he was interred in Westminster Abbey.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. Who were appointed lords justices?
2. What measure did Charles II. first propose for Ireland, and what were its provisions?
3. What was the state of parties on the assembling of an Irish parliament?
4. How did the Irish Catholics manage their cause?
5. What resulted?
6. Did the Puritans resort to any violent courses?
7. How did Ormond manifest his peculiar line of policy?

8. Narrate the history of the Irish Remonstrance.
9. How did it end?
10. What was the industrial and commercial state of Ireland about this time?
11. What remarkable prohibition did the English Parliament enact?
12. Were any attempts made to excite Protestant prejudices against the Irish Catholics?
13. What were Ormond's private convictions as opposed to his public acts?
14. Who succeeded in administration of Irish affairs, after Ormond's departure for England?
15. Did the republicans manifest any symptoms of opposition to royalty in Ireland?
16. How did the Irish Catholic gentry prosecute their just claims for redress?
17. Was any action taken on their petition?
18. What were Lord Essex's instructions?
19. On his return to Ireland, how was Ormond directed to act?
20. What state of affairs now prevailed?
21. What led to the apprehension of Archbishop Plunket?
22. How were the proceedings against him conducted?
23. What followed after his condemnation and death?

## LESSON XXXV.

**Accession of James II.—His first Irish appointment—Tyrconnell obtains power and influence—Effects produced on the minds of Catholics and Protestants—Sectarian excitement—Tolerance of the King—His dethronement and escape from England.\***

[1.] **JAMES II.** succeeded on the death of his brother Charles, and with general acclaim of the Irish people, who had already conceived great hopes of him, from his having become a devoted convert to the Catholic religion. [2.] On the removal of Ormond, this monarch committed to the lord primate Boyle, and to the Earl of Granard—both Protestants—the administration of Irish affairs, as his lords justices. Soon, however, the Earl of Clarendon was appointed lord lieutenant; and, belonging to the same persuasion, this nobleman was attached to the Protestant interest, although loyal to the king, who had married his sister.

[3.] Distrust and discontent were manifested by the Puritanical party, especially when Colonel Richard Talbot was created Earl of Tyrconnell and appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, whilst he was rendered independent of the lord lieutenant. [4.] As a matter of precaution, the Irish Protestant militia organised by Ormond

\* The following historic tracts throw light on the occurrences of this reign, viz.: *Acts of the Parliament held at Dublin by King James II. in 1689*; *Dr. King's State of the Protestants of Ireland under King James II.*; *Memoirs of King James II.*

was disbanded and disarmed. The army was reorganised and Catholic officers were for the most part appointed to important commands.

[5.] The Earl of Clarendon remonstrated, regarding this divided jurisdiction, and complained of the overbearing confidence and assumptions of Tyrconnell and the Irish Catholics. They were said to have abused their newly-acquired power and influence. [6.] Tyrconnell was prevailed upon to go over into England, for the purpose of inducing the king to revoke the Act of Settlement. Although James felt reluctant to adopt his suggestions, yet consent appears to have been at last yielded.

[7.] Tyrconnell returned to Ireland, as lord lieutenant, in 1687. One of his earliest acts was an admission of Catholics into corporations and judicial offices, with several other just and salutary measures. Catholics were admitted as privy councillors, high sheriffs and magistrates. [8.] However consistent with impartiality such measures were, yet Protestant prejudices were too violently disturbed by a man, peculiarly obnoxious to the anti-Catholic party. They feared his impetuous, resolute and dominant disposition, with his undoubted influence over the king. Besides, it was discovered that James earnestly desired the fullest toleration for the Catholic religion in Ireland. This excited the hopes and fears of opposite sects and parties. Rumours of plots and apprehended massacres, in different quarters, increased, as suspicion and irritation impelled violent

or weak-minded persons to apprehend the worst consequences.

[9.] Many of the Ulster Protestants began to indulge in demonstrations of disaffection by appearing in arms, with drums beating and colours flying. They enrolled, armed and equipped regiments, appointing their own officers: they chose governors of counties, nominating councils and committees to transact their business. [10.] They likewise disarmed Irish Catholics, and also Protestants who were suspected of being unflinching loyalists. Many of the Catholic peasantry fled from their homes. These demonstrations continued unchecked, although considered most dangerous and derogatory to royal authority.

[11.] In Dublin and other more Catholic parts of the country, panic seized upon the Protestants, whose ears were open to every flying rumour of riot and massacre. Congregations often armed themselves and placed sentinels outside on guard, during the progress of religious services. Many Protestant merchants and other inhabitants fled into England and Scotland, through fear of the boding issues characterizing this period.

[12.] Notwithstanding, there is no evidence to show, that James desired to effect any violent disturbance of the established worship within these realms. [13.] However, he naturally calculated on the sympathy and support of Catholics throughout this island. He was also disposed to encourage Irish trade and manufactures, as he stated, in a speech, which was delivered in the Irish par-

liament. [14.] To confound the calumnies of a majority, amongst the Protestant clergy and laity, he proposed liberty of conscience for all persons. He declared that non-conformity to the established religion was no longer penal, and that all dissenters should be publicly tolerated.

[15.] These liberal decrees were unavailing against the tide of popular prejudice, to which he became a victim. By the exertions of a certain class of intolerant and disaffected men in England, the people of that country were prevailed upon, to second the attempts of William, his son-in-law, who landed in England, November 5th, 1688, to effect the Revolution, with a powerful force. James was obliged to fly into France, towards the close of that year, as the cause of his opponent had been embraced, by the majority of his English subjects.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What feelings were entertained by Irish Catholics on James II's accession?
2. Who were first named to succeed Ormond?
3. What gave rise to discontent amongst the Puritans?
4. To what strong measure did Tyrconnell resort?
5. What complaints did the Earl of Clarendon make?
6. What did Tyrconnell about this time?
7. How did he act after his return to Ireland?
8. Did any particular result follow?
9. What occurred in Ulster?
10. Were these manifestations of feeling and opinion dangerous to the loyalists?
11. What counter demonstrations took place?
12. Were any just grounds for this alarm prevalent?
13. What were the king's dispositions towards this country and his fellow religionists?
14. How did James II. propose to regulate his government?
15. What consequences ensued?

## LESSON XXXVI.

Preparations for war in Ireland—Arrival of James II.—Siege of Londonderry—Legislative measures—Landing of Schomberg at Bangor—His subsequent critical position—The Prince of Orange arrives at Carrickfergus to assume command—Battle of the Boyne—Defeat and departure of James from Ireland—William raises the siege of Limerick.\*

[1.] THIS invasion of William induced the Catholics of Ireland, to prepare for a defence of their lawful monarch, and accordingly troops were raised. [2.] Tyrconnell had sent the king a reinforcement of 3,000 Irish soldiers, but their appearance in England was the signal for a display of fanatical excitement and prejudice. He also issued commissions, which empowered several Catholic noblemen and gentlemen to levy troops. On the Irish army list of this king, we find the number of fifty-six infantry regiments, with eight of heavy cavalry and seven of light dragoons, for the most part officered by the nobility and gentry of native Irish and English descent. The levies were conducted with so much enthusiasm, that within six

\* The following works furnish material information in reference to these events: viz.: D'Alton's *King James' Irish Army List*, 1689; Rev. George Walker's *Account of the Siege of Derry*; John Mackenzie's *Account of the Siege of Derry*; Hamilton's *True Relation of the Actions of the Inniskilling Men*; Hempton's *Siege and History of Londonderry*; Fitzgerald's *Full and True Account of the late Revolution in Dublin, of what happened there from the time of the defeat of King James' army at the Boyne, the 1st of July, 1690, till King William's entry there.*



weeks all these regiments were embodied, equipped and armed, so far as a scarcity of means would permit. [8.] It was rumoured amongst the Protestants, by some interested friends of William, that a general massacre by the Irish Catholics was intended. Accordingly, terrified and disloyal Protestants fled into various towns of the north, that were not garrisoned by royal troops. Here they concerted measures for defence and aggression. [4.] Enniskillen refused to admit the royal troops as occupants of its garrison. Tyrconnell had withdrawn the soldiers stationed in Londonderry, to Dublin; but considering the importance of the former post, he despatched a regiment to take possession of that city. The townsmen were divided in opinion, whether it would be more advisable to admit this body of troops or to close their gates. The latter alternative was adopted, December 7th, 1688, although a considerable number addressed the loyalist noblemen, Lords Mountjoy and Tyrconnell, stating that they only took up arms in their own defence.

[5.] At length, Mountjoy was sent to recover the city of Londonderry, and was admitted within its walls, as being a Protestant. His Jacobite regiment consisted of six companies, half Protestant and half Catholic. Councils were now formed in Ulster, for the purpose of procuring men and officers to enlist in the service of William. Carrickfergus and Charlemont were soon the only strong places held for King James, in this northern province. Meantime, Mountjoy had been decoyed

to France, not having been considered faithful to his monarch. [6.] There he was confined, whilst Tyrconnell had proclamations published to continue the war, when those issued to allay existing excitement, with promises of pardon for the disaffected on submitting, had failed to produce a desired effect. The Prince of Orange was proclaimed king, on the 20th of February, 1689, within the walls of Londonderry, and Catholics constituting the royal force were expelled the city. General Hamilton advanced to the north. He defeated the rebels at Dromore, driving them from Hillsborough and Colerain. Derry was now the only important place that held out against the lawful monarch ; and that garrison having chosen Lundy as governor, received intelligence of preparations making in England to assist them.

[7.] Whilst these transactions were progressing, James landed at Kinsale, March 12th, and arrived in Dublin, on the 24th of that same month. The monarch was accompanied by some officers and Irish troops brought from France. He immediately issued five different proclamations, and ordered a parliament to be summoned. Received in triumph, all the citizens tendering addresses of allegiance to him, the dethroned English monarch had just reason to feel satisfied with the hearty enthusiasm and loyal zeal, experienced from a majority of his Irish subjects in this faithful portion of his realm.

[8.] James led his men to Derry, where he appeared before its walls on the 9th of April ; and

so confounded were the besieged, on his arrival there, that it was agreed to deliver the city up to him. He had actually advanced towards it for that purpose, when a revolution took place within the walls. As he approached, cannon was fired on him from the ramparts. Lundy, the governor, who was suspected to favour James, had been deposed. [9.] Walker and Baker were then appointed governors; 7,500 men were raised. Eight regiments, with twenty-two cannon and plenty of ammunition, constituted their means of defence. Lieutenant-General Hamilton was left to besiege this city, but had no very efficient artillery or material of war suitable for the purpose. James retired to Dublin, some days afterwards, leaving the besiegers to beleaguer this city, which had been now greatly reduced by famine. [10.] Dissatisfied, however, with the slow progress of this siege, the king sent De Rosen, marshal-general of Ireland, to undertake its further direction. Provisions began to fail the townsmen: about 8,000 defenders died during the seige, whilst more than double that number fell, the victims of disease and starvation. To complete these miseries, Rosen, who had the command of James' army, drove all supposed adherents of William in the neighbourhood, under the walls. He declared, that they should remain there, until the garrison surrendered. They were, however, permitted to depart; but the besieged passed out amongst the crowd, all their unserviceable and debilitated men, whilst taking some

of the strongest and bravest, from amongst those outside, in their stead. [11.] At length, a fleet of thirty vessels arrived, with supplies of men and provisions. Having broken a boom, placed across the channel of Lough Foyle, three ships approached the walls. Provisions for the garrison had long since failed; and this unexpected relief, arriving for its support, so disheartened the besiegers, that they retired from Londonderry in the month of August, with a considerable loss of men. [12.] Another terrible disaster befel the Irish forces at Newtown-Butler, where they were defeated by Enniskilleners, and massacred with unrelenting carnage, no quarter having been granted by the victors after this engagement.

[13.] In the summer of 1689, James assembled a parliament at Dublin; and in order to raise a revenue for present emergencies, he proceeded to the execution of many arbitrary acts. A base coinage was issued and sought to be forced into circulation, by penal decrees. For the redemption of this fictitious currency, the government of James assumed responsibility. But this Irish parliament passed an act, proclaiming fully religious toleration and liberty of conscience. A right to receive tithes, from members of their own Church, was granted to the Catholic clergy. The act of settlement was also repealed. An act of attainder was passed, against those in arms and hostile to the king's interest.

[14.] Shortly afterwards, the Duke of Schomberg, with some ammunition and 20,000 men,

landed near Bangor, in the county of Down. This general drove the troops of James, from several northern towns. Carrickfergus, commanded by Colonel MacCarthy More, made a vigorous defence, before its final surrender. [15.] At length, his army was closely pressed, at Dundalk, and it suffered severely, from an infection, that spread through the camp. It is thought, that one-half the entire army perished, owing to disease, famine and a very inclement season. One of the most unaccountable military mistakes was committed by King James, whose army lay encamped before that of the Dutch general, who dare not venture from his entrenchments. [16.] James had neither the spirit, when he had this opportunity, for attack, nor the judgment to continue in his advantageous position, in order to beleague the distressed enemy. He retired into winter quarters during the month of November, and thus allowed his adversaries to escape, from a most unhealthy and perilous situation.

[17.] The Williamite forces had impoverished, oppressed and plundered many Protestant inhabitants of Ulster, during their progress and encampments in that part of Ireland. The Prince of Orange was then too much engaged, in settling the affairs of England and Scotland, although fully resolved on undertaking an Irish expedition, at a more favourable opportunity. [18.] However, William landed at Carrickfergus, in the summer of 1690, having previously despatched strong bodies of men to Ireland. [19.] Then col-

lecting his troops, to the number of between 40,000 and 50,000, he advanced towards Drogheda, where James' force, consisting of about 28,000, was stationed. More than half of William's army consisted of continental veterans, well supplied with small arms, artillery and ammunition. The troops of James, for the most part, were raw levies, badly equipped, armed and disciplined. The forces of James took their position above Drogheda, on the southern bank of the river Boyne. [20.] Here, a desperate and well-contested battle was fought, on the 1st of July, old style. The day before this battle, William was wounded, by a cannon ball, which struck him on the shoulder. William detached a division of his army to cross the river at Slane. This movement was successfully executed. Under cover of a tremendous cannonade from batteries placed on the northern bank of the river, a nearly simultaneous advance was made by several Williamite divisions plunging into the water, which was fordable, near Oldbridge village. A front and flank attack distracted the attention and weakened the concentration of James' forces. The king himself surveyed this gallant struggle of his men, from the hill of Donore ; but probably changed his position often, during the heat of this action. William bravely and skilfully led his troops in person. Tyrconnell showed himself a brave soldier, but felt unable to contend against the overpowering numbers of his adversary. Although repulsing their well-disciplined and bravely-contending foes several times,

the Irish eventually gave way, with a considerable loss. The number of killed and wounded, over 1,000 on either side, was nearly equal.

[21.] James's army effected an orderly and almost bloodless retreat on to Duleek, after a determined struggle, which lasted from ten o'clock in the forenoon to nine in the evening. Several gallant officers, belonging to both armies, had fallen in this severe conflict. Drogheda was garrisoned by William's forces, on the day following.

[22.] James hardly awaited the issue of this battle, before he gave vent to his testiness and irresolute temperament, by taking a resolution to call his civic and military authorities of the metropolis together, in order to hear unjust reproaches cast on his brave defenders, and to express his intention of leaving the kingdom. [23.] After this defeat of the Boyne, James hastened to Dublin, where he hastily issued orders to have all apprehended violence and riot suppressed. By a devious course through the Wicklow mountains, he went thence to Waterford, where he embarked for France. Landing at Brest, on the 20th of July, this king brought the first news of his own reverses and discomfiture.

[24.] Before the end of July, Kilkenny, Duncannon and Waterford fell into the hands of William. [25.] The militia of James evacuated the city of Dublin, in accordance with a general plan of campaign, to make the river Shannon a line of defence. These troops marched towards Limerick and Athlone, whither the English pursued them. Douglas besieged Athlone, with

12,000 men and a park of artillery, but was obliged to raise the siege, having lain seven days before its walls. He then advanced to Limerick, and joined William. [26.] Boisseleau was governor of this city. Being summoned to surrender, he signified his intention of holding out against the enemy. About 20,000 foot soldiers and 3,500 horse, stationed in and near the city, on the Clare bank of the Shannon, constituted the defending force. The English brought 38,000 men to the walls; and on the 9th of August they began to occupy stations, around the southern suburbs of this city. [27.] William's heavy artillery had not yet arrived from Dublin. As the train was approaching, within a day's march of Limerick city, Sarsfield took a detour with 500 horse and rushed unexpectedly upon it, taking all the cannon and ammunition, after having dispersed or killed the party conducting it. The heavy artillery was filled with powder, which was fired by train, and all English war material was burned on the spot. Their magazine was also exploded with a shock that was heard for miles distant. After this brilliant exploit, Sarsfield regained the Irish camp in safety.

[28.] Notwithstanding this disaster, the English gained possession of a part of the city. Having procured artillery from Waterford, William began to batter the walls and towers with some effect, until at length a wide breach was opened. Generals Ginckel and Kirke crossed the Shannon on pontoons, to create a diversion against the Irish



encampment. On the 27th of August, William commanded an assault to take place, whilst 10,000 men supported the storming party. Boisseleau had thrown up a breastwork, behind the breach, and had mounted a few pieces of cannon on its crest. A tremendous cross-fire mowed down his assailants. The Irish also sprung a mine, after a Brandenburg regiment had gained the Black Battery, when hundreds of these soldiers, were blown to atoms. At the same time, Brigadier Talbot ran over one of the Irish outworks, charged the storming party from the rear, routed them, and afterwards entered, with his men, through the breach. For nearly four hours, the English, with determined valour, vainly endeavoured to procure a lodgment. [29.] They were at length driven out, the besieged having been supported, in a most gallant manner, by the women of Limerick. Over 2,000 of the English were killed or wounded, during this desperate struggle. Thus foiled in his attempt to take the city, William felt obliged to raise this siege, and draw off his army, on the 31st of August. Want of cavalry prevented the besiegers from molesting his retreat. He went through Clonmel to Waterford and Duncannon. From the latter place, he sailed, on the 5th of September. [30.] When William returned to England, the command of his army devolved upon Ginckle, who, after gaining some advantages, drew his troops into winter-quarters.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What spirit was awakened amongst Irish Catholics on the news of King James's deposition?

2. What were the first measures of Tyrconnell?
3. Were any counter resolutions adopted by Protestants?
4. What occurred in Enniskillen and Londonderry?
5. Who procured access to the latter city?
6. How was the war conducted in Ulster?
7. Did James II. receive a flattering reception on arriving in Ireland?
8. What was his first warlike essay?
9. How did the besieged in Londonderry provide for defence?
10. Who was appointed to conduct operations against them and what were his measures?
11. What was the result of this siege?
12. What happened at Newtown-Butler?
13. What measures were adopted by parliament in 1689?
14. Who landed in Ireland at this time?
15. To what condition was Schomberg reduced at Dundalk?
16. What advantages did James afford him?
17. Did the Ulster Protestants suffer any damages from their English and German allies?
18. How did William act on landing in Ireland?
19. What were the relative numbers and condition of the armies belonging to William and James?
20. Describe the incidents of the Boyne battle.
21. What movements followed this engagement?
22. What was the conduct of King James?
23. Whither did he go?
24. What military advantages did William obtain soon after his great victory at the Boyne?
25. On what principles of strategy did the Irish act?
26. How was the siege of Limerick conducted?
27. What remarkable incident distinguished this siege?
28. Was the English assault successful?
29. What was the issue of this remarkable siege?
30. Who obtained the post of commander over the English army after the sailing of William for England?

## LESSON XXXVII.

Dissensions in the Irish Army.—Cork and Kinsale taken by the English—St. Ruth appointed to command the Irish—Siege of Athlone—Battle of Aughrim—Subsequent actions—Siege and capitulation of Limerick—Forfeitures—Violation of Limerick Treaty.\*

[1.] FATAL jealousies broke out amongst the Irish and French leaders. Tyrconnell's conduct had given rise to various complaints, and the gal-

\* The following works may be referred to, viz.: *Macariæ Excidium, the Destruction of Cyprus: being a Secret History of the Civil War in Ireland, under James II.*, by Colonel Charles O'Kelly. Edited in the Latin from a MS. presented by the late Professor M'Cullagh to the Library of the Royal Irish Academy; with a translation from a MS. of the seventeenth century, and notes, by John C. O'Callaghan, Esq.; *Transactions of King James II. in Ireland*, 1690; *General Ginckle's Campaign in Ireland*, 1691; John C. O'Callaghan's *Green Book; Light to the Blind; Rawdon Papers*; Lesley's *Answer to King*; Lieutenant-General Keating's *Defence of Ireland*; *Memoires du Maréchal de Berwick*; Griffyth's *Villare Hibernicum*; *Memoirs of Captain Parker*; John C. O'Callaghan's *History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France*; Story's *Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland*; Duhigg's *History of the King's Inns*; Cooke's *History of Parsonstown*; Harris' *Life of William III.*; *Ministerial Conduct of the Chief Governors of Ireland*, 1688 to 1754; *Account of a Sessions of Parliament in Ireland*, 1692—London, 1693; *Lord Taaffe on Irish Affairs*, 1691; Macpherson's *Original Papers*; O'Driscoll's *History of Ireland*; *Life of William III.*—London, 1703; *Lord Clare's Speech on the Union*; Macaulay's *History of England*—the latter a delightfully written and popular, but most inaccurate work, on nearly all matters appertaining to Irish affairs, especially about this period.

lant Sarsfield was particularly hostile to his measures. However, Tyrconnell, with the Count de Lauzun and his division, sailed from Galway, to represent the state of Irish affairs to King James, then in France. [2.] To the Duke of Berwick, only twenty years of age at this time, was entrusted the chief command; however, councils of regency and war were nominated to give direction and advice. In conjunction with Sarsfield, the young Duke executed some military manœuvres; but a superior force of English forced these leaders to retire from the siege of Birr Castle.

[3.] The Earl of Marlborough, afterwards so celebrated for his continental military campaigns, conducted a naval expedition to Cork, which city was surrendered by the Irish, after a brave resistance, towards the close of September. A few days, afterwards, he gained possession of Kinsale, the garrison having capitulated, on being allowed to march with arms and baggage to Limerick. [4.] William felt extremely anxious to terminate the war in Ireland, and had given directions to Ginckle, that every reasonable sacrifice should be made to accomplish that purpose. Offers of pardon were held out, for those who would surrender. Meah-time, the war appeared to languish, as this year drew towards a close, and little was effected on either side. Ravages of outlaws, known as Rapparees, were common at the time, and much confusion and disorder was caused to the Williamite forces, by their irregular inroads and system of warfare.

[5.] About the middle of January, 1691, James had sent Tyrconnell to Ireland, with a small supply of money, and a patent, creating Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan. Soon afterwards, the Duke of Berwick left Ireland, and sailed over to France.

[6.] St. Ruth was now invested, with the chief command of the Irish. Having landed at Limerick, with a French fleet, conveying provisions, clothing, arms and ammunition, but neither troops nor money, St. Ruth drew the main body of his army behind Athlone, which was again threatened with a siege. [7.] After some military operations in Westmeath, about the middle of summer, Ginckle advanced towards this town; and, after many unsuccessful attempts to cross the river Shannon, over its bridge, he determined on fording. [8.] This daring attempt succeeded. Owing to a heavy cannonade, the town had been reduced to one mass of ruins. Although St. Ruth, when too late, attempted to oppose the English on entering, Ginckle's army retained possession of the town. Whereupon, St. Ruth withdrew his troops from several garrisons, led his army beyond the river Suck, to Ballinasloe, where he encamped, and then onward towards Aughrim, followed by Ginckle, with over 20,000 men.

[9.] Here, having selected a choice position, St. Ruth disposed the remains of his army, reduced by losses and desertion, to about 15,000 men. [10.] On the 12th of July, the well-disputed battle of Aughrim was fought. About noon, the English army advanced upon the Irish troops, who

were advantageously posted. Some heavy skirmishing took place, near the pass of Urraghree, on the Irish right, whence the Williamite forces were obliged to retire, with considerable loss. [11.] After an interval of suspense, during which a council of war was held within the English lines, the fighting was renewed at this same point, about five o'clock, in the evening. Again the Irish horse valiantly maintained their ground, near Urraghree, against very unequal odds. [12.] The English, plunging into a bog in front of the Irish position, were drawn forward by St. Ruth's forces—who retired on their approach—as far as the main body. A number of high fences and thick-set hedges served as an excellent breastwork, in front of St. Ruth's position, at this place. There, these English regiments were surrounded and driven back with great slaughter. Near the village of Aughrim, they also experienced a severe repulse. The English rallied, and then made a desperate attempt to press upon the Irish right. [13.] It was found necessary to weaken the Jacobite centre, in order to drive back the English advance; but this very circumstance, desired by Ginckle, urged him to press suddenly forward on the Irish left. The castle of Aughrim, commanding this particular line of approach, happened to be deprived of ammunition, at this critical juncture. The English made good their ground, and reinforcements still continued pressing from behind, until at length, a formidable array was concentrated in Aughrim village.

[14.] St. Ruth led a body of horse to oppose them, on the left of his position. But, whilst leading these troops onwards, being killed by a cannon shot, his horse then retreated—the whole Irish army feeling disheartened, by the sudden fall of their general. Sarsfield, who now had the command, being ignorant of the French general's strategic plans, knew not what course he should adopt. He had received positive orders from the chief in command, to remain with his cavalry in reserve, until directed to move. A general advance, from the hostile camp, threw the Irish into complete disorder; and about nine o'clock in the evening, they retired from their strong position.

[15.] In killed and wounded, the English lost over 8,000 soldiers. After a desperate resistance, the Irish retreated, with a loss of about 2,000 men, in killed and wounded, besides 2,000 more, who were afterwards massacred by their enemies, in cold blood.

[16.] Ginckle conducted his troops to Galway, the garrison of which town capitulated, and was permitted to march out, with the honours of war, whilst the inhabitants also were allowed conditions.

[17.] About this time, a fanatical or designing partisan chief, known as Baldearg O'Donnell, had assembled an irregular force of eight regiments, and these were usually maintained by the exaction of a tribute levied on inhabitants of districts, where they were stationed. The people of Galway hoped to obtain relief from this leader, but soon after the battle of Aughrim, these undisciplined bodies bo-

gan to desert his standard. However, Balldearg soon entered into negotiations with Ginckle, and having received payment from the Williamite general, he afterwards accepted a military engagement to serve in the English army. [18.] Sir Teague O'Regan, as governor of Sligo, capitulated on the 14th of September, and was allowed to march upon Limerick, with his garrison of 600 men. [19.] Tyrconnell had despatched a messenger to James, after the battle of Aughrim, with advice of the Irish situation. This nobleman did not long survive, but died suddenly, at the house of M. d'Usson, in the city of Limerick. D'Usson was appointed to a military command of the Irish army, whilst three lords justices received a provisional tenure of office, from their deposed monarch.

Limerick was now the only place of importance, that remained in possession of the Irish, and Ginckle's victorious army determined on its siege. Discord and variance prevailed within this city; the justices, governing in the name of James, declared for surrender, but were opposed by Sarsfield and the French generals. These latter expected succour from abroad, and they determined to hold out, to the very last extremity.

[20.] Ginckle advanced to Limerick resolving to invest it on all sides. However, he found it necessary to confine his operations to the southern side, at first; and having placed sixty cannon and nineteen mortars in position, he opened with a terrific bombardment, on the 30th August. The Irish cavalry was quartered on the Clare side,



whilst an English fleet, commanded by Captain Cole, had entered the Shannon. [21.] The city was soon in flames, so that several families were left homeless and were obliged to fly for refuge to the Irish camp. Bravely, however, was the city defended, against Ginckle's army. [22.] At length, Ginckle threw a bridge of boats across the river, to an island, from which the Shannon was fordable to its opposite bank. This was done in the night, when the Irish, unapprised of their danger, considered that he would abandon the siege. Again the English general retired to his former position. [23.] Difficulty experienced, in taking possession of the city, induced the English general to issue a proclamation. In this, it was guaranteed, that pardon and a restitution of their estates should be offered all inhabitants, if they thought proper to submit, within eight days. [24.] This proclamation was at first disregarded; but, on the 22nd of September, a second body of English forces was passed over the bridge, when the Irish were driven into the city. Some Irish companies defending the Clare side were obliged to retire over Thomond bridge, but 600 of their number fell, before they could enter Limerick gates. [25.] On the following day, a parley was beaten, and the garrison proposed to capitulate upon terms. Their offers were not agreed to; yet, after a delay and debate for some days, articles of surrender were at last signed. In these, it was stipulated, that Irish Catholics were to enjoy a free exercise of their religion, and to follow the practice of their respective call-

ings, as they did in the reign of King Charles II. No disqualifying test oath was required, but only that of allegiance ; Catholic gentry were permitted to retain their estates, and arms for protection. Irish soldiers, who desired it, had leave to enter into foreign service. As a consequence of the last clause, nearly 20,000 effective Irish troops passed over to the continent.

[26.] On the 3rd of October, the English troops entered Limerick. A few days after the capitulation had taken place, a French war fleet of 18 ships, with 20 transports, sailed up the Shannon. Several thousand stand of arms, a supply of ammunition, provisions, besides 8,000 soldiers and 200 officers, were on board. These ships were obliged to return, bearing off on their decks many willing exiles, who afterwards rose to distinction in foreign camps and courts. [27.] In France, Irish Catholics were granted all the privileges of French citizenship, without any form of naturalization. And, during subsequent years, the French armies received constant accessions of brave recruits from this island. They were enrolled in separate regiments, greatly valued for their military services and native bravery, under a distinctive and renowned appellation, the Irish Brigade.

[28.] Immediately after the termination of this war in Ireland, a new set of English adventurers poured over into our country, in order to possess Irish estates, that had as yet escaped confiscation. Lord Clare, in his speech of February

10th, 1800, computes the number of forfeited acres, about this period, to be 1,060,792, whilst stating the superficial contents of our Island at 11,042,682 acres. It may be remarked, that the parliamentary reports, 1813-14, make the number of statute acres in Ireland, 20,487,974. Scarcely had two months elapsed, after signing the treaty of Limerick, when the Catholics of Ireland were obliged to complain of its infraction. The Protestant pulpits and press began to resound with intolerant and inflammatory appeals to bigotry and prejudice, against a helpless and enslaved class. Outrages on person and property were perpetrated by irresponsible and even by legally appointed government officials.

[29.] These infamous laws, constituting the penal code, were next enacted. A first proof the parliament gave of its bigoted prejudice and intolerance, against Irish Catholics, was exhibited in 1691, when an act was passed, by which they were excluded from parliament. Again was a measure adopted for disarming the Catholics of this country. Such a despotic and humiliating enactment was followed by another, wherein it was decreed penal for them, to receive any literary education, either at home or in foreign countries. Priests and schoolmasters were severely punished for any detected attempt, to impart a secular or religious instruction.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What state of feeling existed between the Irish and French?

2. On whom did Tyrconnell confer authority when departing for France ?
3. What advantages were next gained by the English ?
4. What was William's policy in reference to the war ?
5. What happened early in 1691 ?
6. Who obtained command of the Irish army ?
7. How did this campaign open ?
8. What was done at the siege of Athlone ?
9. What were St. Ruth's dispositions at Aughrim ?
10. How did this battle commence ?
11. What led to its renewal ?
12. Was the centre attack successful ?
13. How did the English retrieve this reverse ?
14. What caused the Irish to lose this battle ?
15. What were the relative numbers slain on either side ?
16. What steps did Ginckle afterwards take ?
17. Who obtained notoriety in the west of Ireland at this time ?
18. What happened at Sligo ?
19. What took place in Limerick ?
20. What were Ginckle's first operations before the city ?
21. How did its siege progress ?
22. What manœuvre did the English general execute ?
23. Did he offer any terms to the besieged ?
24. What followed their rejection ?
25. By the treaty of Limerick, what conditions were granted to the Irish ?
26. What occurred after signing this treaty ?
27. Were any peculiar distinctions conferred abroad on the exiled Irish ?
28. On the cessation of hostilities, what transpired ?
29. How were the Irish Catholics treated ?

## LESSON XXXVIII.

Contests between the Irish and English Parliaments—Persecution of Catholics—Party Differences—Penal Laws—The English Parliament enforces supremacy of rule—Dean Swift's exposure of Wood's patent—Religious proscription.\*

[1.] POLITICAL warfare was carried on for some years between the British and Irish parliaments, the former endeavouring to control all acts of the latter, which in turn resisted such attempts. In October, 1692, a bill, originating in the English parliament, for an imposition of duty, was rejected by the Irish Commons. However, the lord lieutenant, Sydney, pronounced a severe rebuke, when proroguing parliament, during the follow-

\* The following works will be found useful for reference regarding the history of this period, viz.: John O'Heyn's *Epilogus Chronologicus exponens succinctè Conventus et Fundationes Sacri ordinis Predicatorum in Regno Hiberniæ, et nomina pariter quorundam illustrium filiorum ejusdem Provinciæ, tam Mortuorum, quam in exilio aut domi viventium*—Lovanii, 1706; Letters and other works of Edmund Burke; Dean Swift's Works and Life—Roscoe's or Sir Walter Scott's edition; *Votes of the House of Commons from 1695 to 1772*; Boulter's *Letters*; Amongst the MSS. preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, is a MS. entitled, *Forfeited Estates in Ireland, of the postings and sales, 1700-1703*. From 1708 to this present time, the Registry of Deeds Office, Dublin, contains various documents, in relation to Irish landed property. The registration of deeds originated, as the preamble of the act (the 6th Anne, cap. 2) declared, "To prevent the fraudulent conveyance of land, by Papists, to the prejudice of the Protestant interest, in Ireland."

ing month. The English parliament censured the administration of affairs in Ireland, especially in reference to the measure of toleration granted Irish Catholics. In 1698, Lord Sydney was recalled to England, and the administration of affairs was committed to three lord-justices. [2.] Most stringent laws were afterwards enacted against Catholics. Laws against the Irish woollen manufacture had been passed, both in the Irish and English parliament, by the imposition of certain duties on exported goods. Thousands of Irish Protestant manufacturers were reduced to poverty, as a consequence of the course taken by their own faithless representatives.

[3.] Amongst the Irish Protestants—for Catholics soon ceased to claim or exercise political rights in their native land—a party favourable to English legislative supremacy was confronted by another anxious to promote the constitutional independence of Ireland. Molyneux, who represented the Dublin University, published, in 1698, a celebrated book, entitled, “The Case of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated.” The appearance of this work created a great sensation, at the time, both in this country and in England. The English House of Commons resolved, that it was of dangerous tendency to the crown and people of England. The king was specially recommended to maintain the legislative supremacy of the English over the Irish parliament.

[4.] These hostilities continued throughout the reign of William, until Anne succeeded to the throne,

when additional penal laws were enacted, and with renewed rigor, against the Catholics of Ireland. In the year 1703, the Duke of Ormond was appointed lord lieutenant. An arbitrary and intolerant act, for preventing the growth of Popery, passed in her reign, with other barbarous statutes. Some of the Irish members resigned their seats, to express their disapproval of the first measure, when a standing order was approved, that no new writs should be issued to fill these vacancies. [5.] A formal protest was entered by the Catholic nobles and gentry, who were heard at the bar of both Houses by counsel. In direct violation of articles guaranteed by the Limerick treaty, all arguments were overruled by the monstrous assertion, that it only required conformity to the established religion, by the Catholics, in order to secure advantages recognised in its provisions. Again, it was asserted, that Protestant interests required the framing of such a measure.

[6.] In March, 1704, magistrates and other officials were obliged to execute the laws against Papists with renewed vigour. Informers and prosecutors against Catholics were rewarded and commended. In 1709, the act against Popery received legislative revision and extension, in its clauses of social oppressiveness and persecuting intolerance.

[7.] Violent and factious contests, between the whig and tory parties, prevailed in this country as in England, during the reign of Queen Anne. Whilst other dissenters from the Established Church enjoyed perfect toleration and all the na-

tural privileges of citizens, Catholics were obliged to endure a continuous course of persecution and proscription. National and constitutional interests were neglected by the Irish lords and commons, otherwise greatly excited, owing to virulent party quarrels. The celebrated Dean Swift's vigorous style of writing has served to invest those conflicts with an interest and importance, which they have preserved to the present time.

[8.] During the reign of George I., who mounted the throne in 1714, a bill was passed, for a better securing the dependence of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain. This decree was probably intended as a preliminary to the Union, if such an event could be then accomplished. [9.] The immediate occasion, which led to its enactment, occurred in 1719, when a cause, relative to an estate, between Hester Sherlock and Maurice Annesley, was tried before the Irish court of exchequer. Here, the latter obtained a favourable decision; but this sentence was reversed, on appeal to the Irish House of Lords. From that tribunal, Annesley appealed to the English peers, who decided in his favour, by rescinding the Irish lords' decree. Sherlock again appealed to the Irish House of Lords. An opinion of the judges in Ireland was obtained, that the king, through his Irish parliament, could determine any cause, in this country, on appeal, and Sherlock was put in possession of the estate. Agreeably to an order of the English peers, issued from the exchequer, the high sheriff of Kildare was required to restore An-



nesley to possession of the lands. On refusal, the high sheriff was fined; but the Irish peers again removed this fine, and applauded his courage and integrity.

They afterwards drew up a spirited memorial for presentation to his majesty, which opened the constitutional question, involved in this case, with great clearness and ability. The result was, that the barons of Exchequer in Ireland were commended by the English parliament for their decision. The king was addressed, to confer on them some mark of royal favour in order to recompense them for injuries sustained from the Irish legislature. [10.] A total annihilation of Irish independence followed, in an act, by which it was declared, that the king, lords and commons had, hath, and ought to have, full power and authority to make laws, which should bind the people of Ireland. It also determined, that the Irish House of Lords had no jurisdiction to affirm or reverse a sentence or decree of any court within the kingdom, and that its judgments, in such matters, should be deemed null and void. Tame acquiescence, in this deprivation of national rights and constitutional liberty, degraded Ireland into the condition of a dependent province.

[11.] We pass over other events of this reign, merely observing, that Irish Catholics in this country were reduced to the lowest condition of servitude, that the power of legislative tyranny could inflict. [12.] By barbarous penal enactments, it was deemed a crime, to write, to publish, or even to

read a Catholic book ; to attend at mass or to hear any religious instructions from the persecuted clergy of the people ; to harbour or conceal priests ; for a Catholic to keep a horse valued at £5, or to maintain more than two apprentices, except at the linen trade. It was required, that the Catholic clergy should be registered, and only officiate in the parish where registered. A reward of £50 was offered for discovering a Popish archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, or any person exercising foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; a reward of £20 was offered for a secular or regular priest, not registered ; a reward of £10 was tendered for information against a Popish schoolmaster or usher ; whilst to crown this iniquitous system of legal persecution, such rewards were to be levied exclusively on Catholics. A bribe of £80 per annum was held out to apostate priests, on conforming to the Protestant worship. If the eldest or any other son apostatized, a Catholic father could not dispose in legacies or portions of any part of an estate, coming to him by descent or purchase. When any child declared for Protestantism, guardianship was taken from the father, and vested in the next Protestant relation. If a wife desired to change her religion, during the lifetime of a Catholic husband, the lord chancellor could make such special provision for her maintenance as he pleased. The Catholic heirs of a Protestant possessor were dispossessed, and the inheritance was transferred to the next Protestant kinsman. Papists were rendered incapable of purchasing lands, rents or profits from land ; nor could they

take leases for any term, over thirty-one years. If the profits of his farm exceeded one-third of the rent, a Catholic possessor might be ejected, and his property then vested in the Protestant discoverer. It was even possible, for a wicked, profligate son, to disinherit his Catholic brothers or sisters, upon conforming to the Protestant religion. Catholics were incapacitated from serving on grand juries or even from receiving annuities. [13.] Thus, without any absolute departure from truth, it might safely be asserted, Irish Catholics were completely subjected to their Protestant fellow-countrymen, and delivered over to their exclusive domination and disposal, in all matters affecting, property, liberty and even life.

[14.] A person, named William Wood, had obtained a patent from the king, for supplying Ireland with a debased copper coinage, amounting to the assumed value of £108,000. [15.] Dean Swift, however, by an inimitable series of letters produced such a ferment and an alarm in the public mind, that Wood was unable to get his copper coin into circulation. In a short time, the patent was withdrawn, Wood receiving compensation for his losses, whilst the government instituted a prosecution against Dean Swift, whose popularity was greatly increased, as a consequence. [16.] In 1723, the Irish Commons addressed the king to have the estimates for supply reduced; but this request was completely ignored. Primate Boulter, appointed Protestant Archbishop of Armagh, especially distinguished himself in uphold-

ing English interests in Ireland ; whilst his efforts were constantly directed towards a subversion of Catholic principles and practices, to which the vast majority of our people clung with unyielding tenacity.

[17.] The native Irish—a poor, degraded, helot race—were driven to woods, caves and remote glens, like the outcasts of mankind, there to worship God according to forms of the old religion. The writer has often heard very old people relate instances of persecution, which occurred in their own time, and the traditions of their fathers, on this subject, are yet vividly remembered. Yet even then, the persecuted Catholic clergy endeavoured to guard those embers of knowledge, which oppressive laws sought to extinguish. In the lonely glen, the obscure hut or the dark cavern, where they sojourned, these noble confessors taught the rudiments of sacred and secular learning. [18.] Besides these grievances, the trade and manufactures of this country were reduced to the lowest state ; agriculture was neglected, owing to a jealous and monopolizing commercial policy enforced by the English nation ; tyranny and bigotry ruled our land. Such was the state of Ireland, in 1727, on ascent of George II. to the British throne, nor was her condition in the least ameliorated, during the course of his extended reign.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What constitutional contests next engaged the attention of the Irish and British parliaments ?
2. What laws were passed injurious to Irish and Catholic interests ?

3. Did anything remarkable occur, in consequence of the party feeling then prevailing?

4. What took place on Queen Anne's ascent to the throne?

5. How did the Irish Catholics act?

6. Were their efforts successful in stemming the tide of religious persecution?

7. What party contests prevailed during this reign?

8. Was any remarkable bill enacted by the British houses of parliament on George I.'s accession?

9. What train of causes led to its adoption?

10. What were its provisions and results?

11. Describe the condition of Irish Catholics at this period.

12. State the principal oppressive decrees of our infamous penal code.

13. What was the natural result of such disgraceful legislation?

14. Who became notorious about this time, and owing to what circumstance?

15. What followed in consequence of the celebrated Dean Swift's opposition?

16. How was English supremacy maintained in Ireland?

17. What was the general state to which Irish Catholic clergy and laity became reduced?

18. Were the agricultural, manufacturing, commercial and social interests of Ireland placed in any more hopeful condition?

## LESSON XXXIX.

Irish Catholics deprived of the elective franchise—Famine years and general depression of agriculture, trade and manufactures—General uneasiness and discontent—Political struggles—Partial toleration granted to the Catholics—Charles Lucas' efforts—A Catholic address to the throne received—A riot in Dublin—Thurot lands with some French marines in Ireland—Reimbarks, is defeated and slain.\*

[1.] WHEN the newly-installed monarch had taken possession of the throne, his Irish Catholic subjects prepared an address of congratulation for this occasion. They also gave expression to loyal protestations, and declared their determination to maintain the most peaceful and orderly behaviour. This address, however, when laid before the Irish justices, was treated with marked contempt, and was never even forwarded to the king. Fresh indignities and injustice were reserved for the great majority of the Irish people, through the instrumentality of Primate Boulter.

[2.] About this time, Catholics were deprived of the elective franchise, and rendered incapable of electing members to parliament. Nor were they eligible as voters, to procure the return of a magis-

\* Consult the following works, viz.: Lucas' *Letters and Speeches*; Lady Llanover's *Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville (Mrs. Delaney)*; Wright's *History of Ireland*; Dr. Wilde's *Reports on Irish Deaths and Diseases* (Census Returns for Ireland); *Life and Works of Lord Chesterfield*; *Annual Register*; Horace Walpole's *Memoirs of George II.*; M'Skimmin's *History of Carrickfergus*.

trate for any city or corporate town. In 1728, these measures were followed by an act to prevent Papists from practising the profession of solicitor. [3.] All the honours of this persecuted body were gained abroad; for Catholics were obliged, by those horrors that surrounded them, to seek refuge in foreign countries. In France and America, they mainly contributed to humble the pride of their haughty mistress, England. Constantly recruiting armies of the former country, Irishmen were often led against the English, on fields of battle, with the watchword: "Behold your persecutors!" In the latter country, Irish blood watered the plains of America, during her glorious struggle for independence. After the great defeat of Fontenoy, which battle Irish Catholic soldiers won for the French, George II. is said to have exclaimed, "Cursed be the laws, which deprive me of such subjects!"

[4.] The penal laws would not allow Catholics to obtain long leases, and rendered them liable to ejectment, if the rent were discovered to be less than two-thirds the full value of even improved land. The landlords had formed a combination to remove the levying of tithes on cattle, so that almost the entire charge for maintenance of Protestant ministers fell upon the agriculturalists or tenants. Insecurity of tenure and of compensation for improvements—fruitful sources for paralyzing industry in farming operations, even at the present time—gave rise to a succession of famine years, whilst hundreds of thousands amongst the

peasantry were carried off, victims to hunger and disease. These evils were severe and unmitigated in the abnormal state of Ireland, deprived at that time of those means for the employment of her people in extensive manufacturing and commercial pursuits.

[5.] Emigration, especially from the Ulster province, prevailed to a great extent; and expectation of a French invasion, about the year 1744, caused considerable uneasiness to government, whilst it raised expectations of deliverance from religious persecution, amongst a great majority of the Irish people. [6.] The only idea for quelling these aspirations, which was then entertained by the ruling powers, was calculated to excite, rather than appease, the spirit of rebellion. Searches for priests were instituted, with renewed diligence, and chapels were closed. The project for a general Popish massacre had been matured in the north of Ireland, by some Protestant dissenters; but happily the good sense and feeling of a majority prevailed, and this inhuman design was prevented.

[7.] Through influence of the court party and pensionaries of the crown, every exertion was made to resist the growing demands of Irish nationalists. In the legislature, a bill was introduced to apply a surplus of the treasury, in liquidation of the Irish national debt. A consent of the crown was insisted on, by government, and was as stoutly resisted by the patriot party. These discussions, begun in 1749, continued through suc-



ceeding years. [8.] Charter schools had been endowed by government authority, to train deserted or destitute Catholic children in the state religion. Yet, under all these civil and legal disabilities, the proportion of Catholics appears to have maintained numerical if not political superiority, throughout this whole gloomy period of jealous proscription.

[9.] Irish Catholics for a short time were treated with moderation, when rumours began to circulate regarding the landing and prowess of the young Chevalier, in Scotland. The courtly Earl of Chesterfield was sent over as lord lieutenant, with a policy of toleration which it was then deemed expedient to adopt, in regard to Catholic priests and people. Chapels were allowed to be opened in a semi-private manner, until after the battle of Culloden had been fought, April 16th, 1746. Several Irish exiles and adventurers had accompanied Prince Charles Edward, and served him with entire devotedness and bravery, during his varied and romantic expeditionary career in Scotland. [10.] That threatening cloud having passed away, persecution again returned ; and priests who were at first liberated from prison, were again re-committed. Such were the rewards bestowed on active or passive Catholic loyalty to the Brunswick line !

[11.] About this period, the celebrated Charles Lucas, although not friendly to the claims of his Catholic fellow-countrymen, distinguished himself, by the advocacy of Irish rights and liberties ; but,

this opposition to government, obliged him to quit the country. [12.] Irish Catholics also made some ineffectual struggles to obtain a redress of grievances; yet, being bowed down by the hand of power and intolerance, it becomes a matter of little surprise, that in these attempts they were unsuccessful. Dr. John Curry, an eminent Catholic physician of Dublin, the venerable Charles O'Connor of Belanagar and Mr. Wyse of Waterford addressed a circular to the clergy and aristocracy of their own communion. This invitation to assert their loyalty, although in a manner at once slavish and undignified, was considered too bold an advance for the period. Even the promoters of an address had not the courage, or perhaps could not venture to hope for an opportunity, to present it to the lord lieutenant themselves, but were obliged to approach the throne, through Mr. Ponsonby, speaker of the Lower House. After some considerable delay, an answer was returned, that these petitioners would receive his majesty's protection, in return for a manifestation of their duty and affection.

[13.] Even at the early period of 1759, rumours of an union meditated between Great Britain and Ireland had prevailed; but such was the unpopularity of this measure, in the latter country, that all the Irish members, supposed to be attached to it, were publicly attacked in the city of Dublin. The chancellor, attorney general, some Protestant bishops, and others, representing the court party, were roughly handled by the mob, whilst a privy

councillor was thrown into the river Liffey. The speaker and Irish secretary appeared on the porch steps of the houses of parliament to assure the citizens, that no legislative union was under consideration, and if at all proposed, they declared an intention to resist its passing. This measure was not forgotten by the English parliament, at a period deemed more favourable for its adoption.

[14.] Rumours had been in circulation, for a considerable time, that a French naval expedition was in course of preparation for descent on Ireland. Three different armaments had been destined for this service. Only one of these, which sailed from Dunkirk, on the 3rd of October, 1759, was driven by a succession of storms on the coast of Norway and Sweden. [15.] It was commanded by a gallant and daring sea-captain of Irish descent, named Thurot, who had some knowledge of the British Isles, in which he had formerly resided. Coasting around the western islands of Scotland, two of his five vessels having parted from this expedition, the winter passed over, with considerable damage done to his ships. Want of provisions and the great hardships, endured by his sailors, told severely on their powers of endurance. [16.] In the spring of the year 1760, this armament of three French ships landed 600 men, near Carrickfergus, it being supposed, that disaffected Catholics would join them, in an effort to expel the English from Ireland. A battle took place, between four companies of a regiment, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Jennings, and these French

forces, under the command of Thurot ; the former retired into the town, where they were obliged to capitulate, and surrender to their enemies. After laying the town under a contribution, and finding the Irish fearing or unwilling to join him, Thurot disembarked. [17.] He was met at sea, by Commodore Elliot, when a bloody engagement ensued. Thurot was killed, and the French ships then surrendered, after having made a desperate resistance.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What official insult was offered to the Irish Catholics?
2. Were any other disabilities heaped upon them?
3. Where were their services best appreciated?
4. How did the penal laws react on Irish trade, agriculture and manufacture?
5. What rumours next prevailed?
6. What was the result?
7. How were legislative conflicts conducted between the court and popular party in Ireland?
8. What efforts were made to proselytize Irish Catholics, and how did they succeed?
9. When was the tide of religious persecution partially stemmed?
10. What followed, when the young Pretender was defeated in Scotland?
11. How was Lucas now distinguished?
12. What action did the Irish Catholics take at this time?
13. What led to a popular disturbance in the capital, A.D. 1759?
14. What preparations were making in France for an Irish invasion?
15. Who conducted the French expedition to Ireland?
16. Where did he land and how did he succeed?
17. What followed on disembarkation of the French vessels?

## LESSON XL.

Agrarian disturbances—First advances made for Irish independence, reform and religious toleration—Organization of the Volunteers—Demand for Free Trade conceded—Mr. Grattan's memorable motion in 1780—Volunteer Convention at Dungannon—Mr. Grattan's Declaration of Irish Rights affirmed both in the Irish and British Houses of Parliament.\*

[1.] SOON after the accession of George III., in 1760, different parts of Ireland were disturbed with secret and illegal societies. A want of employment, a scarcity of food, and numerous cases

\* The following works afford sufficient information in reference to these transactions, viz.: Mullala's *Political History of Ireland*; Parnell's *History of the Penal Laws*; *Enquiry into the Causes of the Outrages committed by the Levellers*; Arthur Young's *Tour through Ireland*; Sir J. Coldwell's *Debates on the Affairs of Ireland*, 2 vols., 8vo.—London, 1766; *List of Irish Pensions*, 1767; Trant's *Disturbances in Munster*; *Irish Parliamentary Register*, 18 vols.; Dr. Madden's *Penal Laws Enacted against Roman Catholics*; Hardy's *Life of Charlemont*; Sir Jonah Barrington's *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*; Henry Grattan's *Life, Speeches, and Works*, by his Son; Henry Flood's *Life and Speeches*; MacNevin's *History of the Volunteers of 1782*; Grattan's *Speeches*, edited by D. O. Madden; *Historical Collections relative to Belfast*; Hely Hutchinson's *Commercial Restraints of Ireland*; Buckingham's *Letters*; *Letters of Henry Flood to Lord Charlemont and Lord Chandos*; *History of the Convention at Dungannon*; *Addresses and Resolutions of the Irish Volunteers*; Exshaw's *Magazine*; Dr. Campbell's *Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland*; *Baratariana*; Dobbs' *History of Irish Affairs*; the various public journals and periodicals of this period published in England and Ireland.

of ejection, an oppressive tithe system and local exactions, were found to be the chief causes of these disturbances, according to a report that was instituted to inquire into their origin and organisation. It was also found, that members of these societies were composed of persons, professing different religious creeds, and under the denomination principally of Hearts of Steel, White and Oak Boys. Summary and arbitrary measures were resorted to by government, and justice was frequently outraged in attempts made to establish the rule of law and order. [2.] The Catholic bishops and clergy exerted all their influence to put down these illegal combinations. The influential Irish Catholics also presented an address, expressive of their loyalty to the youthful monarch.

[3.]. Various ineffectual attempts were made to extend the social privileges of Irish Catholics, to obtain parliamentary reform, to limit the duration of parliament, and to curb the corrupting influence of the crown, through pensions paid to unworthy favourites, from Irish revenues. A Catholic committee ventured to lay before the throne a statement of grievances affecting their body. [4.] After a few years, the cause of toleration and reform made some progress. The session of parliament was limited to eight years, in 1767, and soon afterwards the Irish House of Commons rejected a money bill, framed by the English privy council. For this independent assertion of a constitutional right, the lord lieutenant, Townshend, prorogued the Irish parliament to the beginning of the year

1771. [5.] At this period, Catholics were allowed to take long leases of bog land, but only on condition of reclaiming one-half, within twenty-one years ; in default of this condition, the lease would be forfeited.

[6.] The year 1775 was distinguished for an outbreak of hostilities between England and her American colonies ; for the birth of Ireland's illustrious future Emancipator of his oppressed fellow-Catholics, Daniel O'Connell ; and for the entry of another great national patriot, champion and orator, Henry Grattan, into the Irish House of Commons. About this time, 4,000 troops were drafted from the Irish establishment to be sent over against the revolted colonists, at the special charge of England. [7.] Whilst restrictive embargoes were laid on Irish exports to America, sympathy for that struggling country was publicly manifested, in the common council of Dublin city. [8.] When France had acknowledged America, as an independent country, measures were introduced to mitigate Catholic grievances. On taking an oath of allegiance, Catholics were allowed to obtain or assign a lease for 999 years ; Popish priests, Jesuits, and schoolmasters were publicly tolerated ; whilst children conforming to the established religion were prevented from claiming, by law, a right of succession or maintenance in prejudice of existing filial, parental or natural right. About the year 1778, many of the penal statutes were revoked, and the Catholics enjoyed comparative freedom from several enthrallments, under which they laboured, dur-

ing preceding years. At this time, the American war engaged attention. It is almost needless to state, that the revolutionary colonists had the sympathy, as also the personal assistance of many Irishmen, in this struggle. But, although in Ireland, a strong feeling was excited in favour of Americans, it formed no part of the Irish people's earnest wishes, to separate themselves from the British crown, as remarkable events, connected with the period of volunteering, about this time, sufficiently demonstrate. [9.] For some time before, an invasion of French and Spaniards had been dreaded, and it was daily rumoured, that their hostile fleets were preparing to put out to sea for such a purpose. Irishmen of all classes and creeds rallied for mutual defence, and besought the British government to send over troops for their greater security; but, as the armies of that nation were employed elsewhere, this request could not be granted. Seeing no hope of aid from their sister country, the Irish formed themselves into those celebrated associations of Volunteers, which spread in all quarters, whilst government supplied them with several thousand stand of arms. In a short time, no less than from 80,000 to 100,000 men were embodied. Belligerent powers, seeing this threatened opposition to their attempt on Ireland thus organized, abandoned all hopes of their intended invasion.

[10.] The spirit and patriotism, displayed by their most respectable and independent citizen soldiery, gave the people of Ireland courage to begin



an agitation for a removal of commercial restrictions. At the same time, resolutions were unanimously passed to encourage home manufactures. Urged by Mr. Grattan, in October, 1779, both the Irish lords and commons addressed the king for a free trade, which just demand—the English being at that time afraid to resist—was granted. Soon afterwards, bills were passed in the British parliament permitting a free exportation of Irish wool and woollen fabrics, as also, for the exporting of Irish glass manufactures. Free trade with the British plantations, under certain conditions, was allowed after some little delay.

[11.] Popular enthusiasm, now raised to a great pitch of excitement, insisted on a restoration of full constitutional rights and uncontrolled independence of the Irish parliament. [12.] Foremost for the cause of patriotism, in a speech of matchless eloquence, Mr. Grattan moved, on the 19th of April, 1780, “that no power on earth, save that of the king, lords and commons of Ireland, had a right to make laws for Ireland.” [13.] The question was not brought to a division, however, through a suggestion of Mr. Flood; but the Volunteer corps passed various advanced political resolutions, which were published in the papers and highly applauded. Lord Charlemont was elected as their commander-in-chief; and when the Earl of Carlisle came over as viceroy, the Volunteers began to hold reviews in various places, throughout Ireland, causing no small amount of apprehension and opposition to government.

[14.] A preliminary meeting of Volunteer officers met at Armagh, towards the close of 1781, and appointed February 15th, 1782, for a meeting of delegates from every Ulster armed association, to meet at Dungannon. Here they accordingly assembled, and passed their celebrated resolutions in favour of social, civil and national independence, judicial and parliamentary reform, free trade and religious toleration. [15.] These resolutions were echoed by many other Volunteer regiments throughout Ireland. Whilst the patriotic representatives felt strengthened and supported by this almost universal sentiment and demonstration, government supporters were fearful that further opposition to popular and national demands would eventuate in an appeal to arms. Such an issue could not be long doubtful, as few regular troops, under governmental control, then garrisoned Ireland.

[16.] The British parliament now prepared to yield with a tolerable grace, what could not be safely withheld much longer; and a royal message recommended adjustment of the great constitutional questions debated between both countries. The Duke of Portland was sent over as lord lieutenant, and he opened the Irish parliament on the 16th of April, the streets of the capital being lined with Volunteers. [17.] Mr. Grattan, after delivering a splendid oration, moved a spirited and comprehensive amendment, to the address, in the House of Commons. This Declaration of Rights was carried without a dissentient voice. [18.] In the British Houses of Parliament resolutions were adopted, re-

commending a repeal of the act, establishing Irish legislative dependence, passed in George the First's reign. Communications to this effect were announced, by the lord lieutenant, on the 27th of May. An act was passed to repeal the statute "for better securing the dependence of Ireland on the crown of Great Britain." This was generally accepted as a settlement of the constitutional question.

[19.] As a manifestation of gratitude for his great services to the country, Mr. Grattan was voted £50,000 by the Irish parliament. [20.] Although some differences of opinion prevailed amongst leading characters of the day, which gave rise to acrimonious discussions, regarding the finality of Irish independence ; yet, the grand triumph obtained diffused universal joy throughout the capital and all parts of this island. Ireland had thus obtained the uncontrolled power of making her own laws, and of giving encouragement to her domestic trade and manufactures.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What local disorders occurred in Ireland after the accession of George III. ?
2. How did the Catholic bishops, clergy and respectable laity comport themselves ?
3. Were any efforts made in behalf of civil and religious liberty ?
4. Did any desirable results take place ?
5. What concessions did the Catholics obtain ?
7. Were the Irish people favourably disposed towards the revolted colonists ?

8. What led to additional partial concessions of Catholic rights?
9. How did the Irish Volunteer movement originate?
10. Was any important legislative measure obtained in consequence?
11. How did the efforts of a patriotic citizen army inspire popular opinion?
12. What celebrated move was made by Henry Grattan in the Irish House of Commons?
13. What followed?
14. How was the Volunteer Convention at Dungannon held?
15. How did it awaken and direct public spirit and resolves?
16. What line of policy was England next obliged to adopt?
17. What course of action was taken by the Irish parliament?
18. Was it successful in obtaining Irish independence?
19. How was Mr. Grattan rewarded?
20. What was the prevailing state of feeling and opinion afterwards evoked?

## LESSON XII.

The Volunteer Convention in Dublin—Futile efforts to obtain Reform—Disturbances in Ulster—General public and social prosperity—Pitt's commercial propositions—Successful movements of Irish Catholics—Earl Fitzwilliam's brief administration—United Irishmen's organization—Persecution of Catholics in the north of Ireland—State of trade and commerce.\*

[1.] REFORM of representation in the Irish parliament was the next question of importance, which occupied public attention. The Volunteers were most prominent, but should have been more

\* The student or teacher might consult the under-mentioned works, viz : Dr. R. R. Madden's *United Irishmen, their Lives and Times*—a most interesting and invaluable historical work ; Rev. Arthur O'Leary's *Tracts* ; MacNevin's *Pieces of Irish History* ; Curran's *Speeches*, edited by Thomas Davis ; *Irish State Trials from 1792 to 1803*, 5 vols. ; Madden and Davis's *Lives of Grattan and Curran* ; M'Nevin's *Irish State Trials from 1794 to 1798*, 1 vol. ; Moore's *Life of Captain Rock* ; Curran's *Life*, by his Son ; Right Hon. Edmund Burke's *Speeches*, edited by James Burke, A.B. ; Plowden's *History of Ireland from its Invasion under Henry II. to its Union with Great Britain* ; William John Fitzpatrick's *Life, Times, and Contemporaries of Lord Cloncurry* ; Moore's *Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald* ; *Autobiography of Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Esq., with additions and illustrations*, by William Hamilton Drummond, D.D., M.R.I.A. ; *Collectanea Politica* ; Teeling's *History and Consequences of the Battle of the Diamond* ; Barrington's *Irish Sketches* ; Phillip's *Curran and his Contemporaries* ; Cassell's *History of Ireland* ; *Ireland Sixty Years Ago* ; *Addresses and Proceedings of the Catholic Committee—1792.*

earnest and decided, in bringing this highly important measure to a satisfactory settlement. Of 300 members then constituting the Irish House of Commons, only sixty-four represented counties, the remainder were returned from cities and close boroughs. Most of these members were the nominees of some influential nobleman or local autocrat; and the great majority of these representatives were the recipients or expectants of government pay and patronage. On all important questions, they were ready to vote as the ministry directed. [2.] After some preliminary arrangements, 160 volunteer delegates assembled at the Royal Exchange, Dublin, and elected the Earl of Charlemont as their chairman, on the 10th of November, 1788. With great military parade, they marched two-and-two to the great room of the Rotunda for the purpose of holding their convention, whilst the Irish unreformed parliament itself was in session.

[3.] Anarchical imbecility and governmental intrigues soon introduced fatal misgivings and differences amongst the assembled delegates. Il-liberality displayed towards their Catholic fellow-countrymen disgusted and disheartened the vast majority of Irishmen. Various plans of reform were considered and discussed. [4.] At length, Mr. Flood introduced a bill on this subject, towards the close of that month. The government party boldly met the issue, and through the attorney-general, Yelverton, declared that no concession could be made, in the House, which would

seem to have been dictated by an armed body without its walls. Notwithstanding Mr. Flood's vigorous defence of his bill and of the Volunteers, after a stormy debate, the motion was rejected on a division by more than two votes to one. This victory was followed up by a declaration, "that the House would maintain its just rights and privileges, against all encroachments whatsoever;" which announcement was fairly regarded, at the time, as a defiant attitude assumed by administration, that might possibly lead to the most momentous consequences.

[5.] The weak and irresolute Charlemont, infatuated by his constitutional but unpatriotic scruples, wanted statesmanlike qualities and nerve to accept this challenge, and to crown the sitting of this convention with dignity and glory. A single bold proclamation would have called all the Volunteers of Ireland to arms, and a bloodless revolution, with some little excitement perhaps, but with hardly any disturbance of social order, must have been effected. Intense agitation disquieted the minds of all persons; but to the great disappointment and discomfiture of the Volunteers and the people, Charlemont shrunk from the issue involved, and used all his influence to adjourn the convention *sine die*. This he discreditably accomplished on the 2nd of December. [6.] Thenceforward the Volunteers began to decline in numbers and influence. Some futile attempts were made to carry this question of reform during the two succeeding years. Government, however, raised

the standing army to 15,000 men, enrolled a militia, and used every means at its disposal to lessen the power and numbers of the Volunteers.

[7.] Meantime, the country continued advancing to an unexampled degree, in the scale of national prosperity. Different projects were carried out by the people for improvement of the nation at large. In 1783, a National Bank had been established; and shortly afterwards, the Bank of Ireland obtained its charter. The resources of this country were now developed, trade and agriculture increased, whilst capital was expended, for the promotion of useful national purposes. Several noble structures were erected in Dublin, and national institutes were established.

[8.] Thus, Ireland seemed in a fair way for becoming a prosperous country; but this incipient greatness set the evil genius of some men in the neighbouring island to work, in order to create political dissension for ulterior projects. Mr. Pitt endeavoured to bring about his insidious commercial propositions, in 1785. This wily statesman exerted all his influence, to accomplish an union between both countries, and thus blast the young-born liberties of Irishmen. [9.] Through a pretended desire to regulate the commercial relations of England and Ireland, Mr. Secretary Orde introduced a bill, into the Irish Houses of Parliament, containing nine propositions. One of these embraced the most material consequence, and provided, that Ireland should contribute her share of expenditure to secure the trade of both coun-



tries. The administration of this act was left to the entire discretion of the British legislature. It passed in the Irish parliament. [10.] By the adroit management of Mr. Pitt, eleven new propositions were added, which greatly restricted the extent of Ireland's commercial enterprizes, and subjected them to the operation of whatever navigation laws might afterwards be enacted across the channel. Again, Mr. Grattan's eloquent invectives and warning roused a spirit of opposition in the Commons; after an anxious and a warm debate, the House came to a division. Unfortunately for the material, social and political prosperity and happiness of Ireland, this measure was carried, by 127 votes, against 108, in opposition to the earnest wishes and strongest protest of the Irish nation. [11.] Yet the government feared to prosecute the passing of this bill, with so small a majority, even in an assembly so largely composed of venal placemen. The inopportune result of popular agitation was apprehended and avoided. It is our province now to record those events of public importance, that preceded the fatal measure of a legislative union between England and Ireland.

[12.] About this period, the seeds of rebellion and disaffection towards the English government were sown in Ireland. It had been all along an aim, with the foreign and domestic enemies of this country, to separate the two leading although greatly disproportioned parties of Catholics and Protestants, in order to accomplish their chief ob-

ject of pressing forward the measure for an union. To accomplish this intent, all views of the former body were misrepresented to their adversaries, by underhand agents and incendiaries. A breach was effected in the union of both classes. [13.] The great majority of northern Protestants, in many instances, were led to believe, that their countrymen of a different creed had resolved upon nothing less, than accomplishing a speedy separation from the crown of Great Britain. Thus, through a mistaken notion of loyalty, many of them formed into organizations, under the appellation, Peep-of-Day Boys. They were denominated, Wreckers, from the nature of some housebreaking outrages perpetrated by them, and they also delighted in calling themselves, Protestant Boys. At a later period, they entered into a more dangerous and secret confederacy organized into what were called Orange lodges. These conspirators against peace and order were regularly banded under different leaders, but all having, as objects in view, a hatred and an opposition to their Catholic fellow-subjects. [14.] They also coveted possession of farms held by Catholics. To obtain their selfish and unprincipled ends, comfortable homesteads were set on fire, generally during the night, and warning was usually posted up that all Papists should "go to hell or Connaught." When thus expelled, it invariably happened, that their farms fell into the possession of Protestants, without the slightest compensation having been made to the dispossessed victims. Arms were manufactured, and

dispersed amongst irresponsible and lawless bodies ; whilst the possessors made several predatory attacks on the houses and possessions of Papists, as their opponents were insultingly called. Nor were the Protestant armed bands alone content with confining their acts to domiciliary visits ; in a short time, they began to massacre Roman Catholics, who lived in the North, during these nocturnal outrages. [15.] So far, however, was government from putting a stop to such fearful atrocities, that it actually increased their numbers, not only by mere countenance, but by magisterial protection and open encouragement.

[16.] It cannot be a matter of surprise, if these proceedings caused the aggrieved party to assemble for mutual defence. Numerous associations of an opposite character were formed amongst Catholics, for the avowed purpose of resisting these unhallowed attempts of their opponents. These men assumed the name of Defenders. Thus, the inhabitants of Ulster were divided into hostile bodies, nearly equal in numbers, but in organization and means of defence utterly disproportioned. The feeling here excited, naturally spread itself over the entire country ; flagrant excesses were daily committed by the deluded men, who took part in either organization. However, it is just to state, that as on the Protestant side murder was committed without any provocation ; so on the other, it was perpetrated, generally in self-defence, or whenever the contrary was the case, it was usually caused by a feeling of vindictive retaliation.

[17.] About the commencement of 1791, John Keogh with some of the leading merchants of his persuasion formed a general committee of Irish Catholics, to commence an agitation for exemption from existing unconstitutional disabilities.

[18.] In the prosecution of these efforts, they secured sympathy and support from many enlightened Protestants. Some of the Catholic aristocracy, however, seceded from the middle and humbler classes of their fellow-religionists, through a timid and time-serving policy. A convention of Catholic delegates assembled in Back-lane, Dublin, in 1792, and prepared a petition to the king setting forth their grievances.

[19.] In 1793, the Irish Catholics were restored to possession of the elective franchise. They were allowed to hold certain offices in the army and navy; the law courts were also thrown open to them. These concessions of right were produced by the French Revolution, a source of inquietude and menace to the ruling powers. The Royal College of Maynooth was soon afterwards founded and endowed for the home education of Irish Catholic priests. [20.] A reform of parliament was the great political object of importance now sought, and societies were formed for the accomplishment of this project. These organized bodies went by the denomination of United Irishmen, as they especially aimed at securing an union between Catholics and Protestants for the purpose of obtaining civil, political and religious equality. The first of these societies was formed in Bel-

fast, and soon afterwards this organization extended to Dublin. From these cities, their associations were gradually propagated throughout the country.

[21.] In 1795, Messrs. Grattan and Ponsonby were deputed to form a new government, which it was expected would be conducted on liberal and conciliatory principles. The Catholics were led to hope for Emancipation. Earl Fitzwilliam was appointed viceroy, which promotion diffused a general satisfaction throughout Ireland. This estimable and enlightened nobleman began by removing all corrupt and unprincipled men from place and power, whilst advanced liberals obtained promotion and influence. Public confidence in the dispensation of justice began to pervade all classes. After an administration, only lasting for three months, he was recalled. General regret felt by the people of Dublin on his departure for England was such, that, on the day of his resignation, a general mourning was observed.

[22.] Gloom and discontent soon settled over the popular mind; all hopes of political regeneration were now centred upon rebellion and revolution. [23.] The United Irishmen merged into secret tests and proceedings, but the government had full information of all their plans through spies and emissaries. Military organization had been established. Baronial, county and provincial committees were formed. Each of the four provinces had a subordinate directory, and five persons elected by ballot constituted the supreme executive directory, in Dublin, forming a junta of government for the entire union.

[24.] On the 21st of September, 1795, the hostile spirit of party broke forth in Ulster. On that day, a battle was fought at Diamond, between the rival factions, Peep-of-Day Boys and Defenders. In this skirmish, the Defenders were defeated, their adversaries being better disciplined and furnished with arms. Thenceforward, the Peep-of-Day-Boys assumed the name of Orangemen, and became more insolent, after this their first successful engagement. No less than 7,000 Catholics, about this period, had been killed, burned out or denuded of property, in the county of Armagh alone, without giving any provocation, real or pretended; whilst these dreadful massacres and exterminations were continued each day, with entire impunity to the perpetrators.

[25.] Meanwhile, the internal trade and commerce of Ireland were rapidly increasing every succeeding year, whilst public works of utility and national improvements were daily advancing. The metropolis in particular exhibited the peculiar importance of her trade, at this time. Since that period, the greater part of our landed aristocracy have habitually absented themselves from this country; many traders extensively engaged in commercial and manufacturing pursuits have become bankrupt, whilst national misery alternates, but most surely progresses, with fearful increase. This melancholy state of affairs could only be brought about by the infatuation of an entire nation. It was accomplished by means the most corrupt and iniquitous on record.

## QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What matter of moment next excited political agitation?
2. What action was taken by the Volunteers?
3. How was the Convention divided?
4. What followed in parliament?
5. Were Charlemont's conduct and courage equal to the occasion?
6. What was the demoralizing effect afterwards produced?
7. Did the country at large afford any indications of growing prosperity?
8. What project now engaged the attention of Mr. Pitt?
9. Describe the scope and origin of Orde's commercial propositions.
10. What took place after their transmission to England?
11. Did government persevere in this measure?
12. What state of feeling and opinion menaced social order?
13. How was it developed in Ulster?
14. What outrages occurred?
15. Did administration make any effort to redress the wrongs of Catholics?
16. What state of anarchy now prevailed?
17. What movement was originated by the Irish Catholics in 1791?
18. What followed?
19. Were any social or political advantages obtained?
20. For what purpose did the United Irishmen associate?
21. What happened in 1795?
22. After the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam what ideas took possession of the Irish people?
23. Did the United Irishmen introduce any novelties into their first constituted system?
24. What occurred in the north of Ireland?
25. Were any pleasing contrasts of material advancement perceptible, about this period?

## LESSON XLII.

Preparations for the Irish Rebellion.—Arrival of a French squadron in Bantry Bay.—Events preceding the outbreak in 1798.—First engagements during the month of May.—Insurrection and battles in the county of Wexford.—Massacres and retaliation —Encounters in Ulster between the people and the military.—Final dispersion of the southern insurgents.—Subsequent conduct of the government.—Landing of the French at Killala.—English defeated at Castlebar.—Surrender of the French at Ballinamuck.—Defeat of a French expedition off the coast of Donegal.—Suppression of the Rebellion.\*

[1.] MEANTIME, the Society of United Irishmen was extending its numbers and influence, amongst the people of Ireland. It was computed, that over 500,000 men had been enrolled in this or-

\* The events of 1798 are sufficiently described in the following works, in addition to those mentioned in the preceding chapter, viz., *Memoirs of Theobald Wolfe Tone*, written by himself and edited by his Son; Teeling's *Personal Narrative of the Rebellion* and *Sequel to the Personal Narrative*; Samuel Neilson's *Statement of a Negotiation between certain United Irishmen and the Irish Government*; *Memoirs of Miles Byrne*, edited by his Widow; Crofton Croker's *Memoir of Joseph Holt, General of the Irish Rebels in 1798*; Cloney's *Personal Narrative*; *The Mercenary Informers of '98*; Edward Morgan's *Journal of the French Fleet in Bantry Bay*; Bishop Stock's *Narrative of what passed at Killala, 1798*; William Sampson's *Autobiography*, edited by William Cooke Taylor; Hay's *History of the Insurrection in Wexford*; Lord Cloncurry's *Personal Recollections*; O'Kelly's *General History of the Rebellion*; Alexander's *Account of the Rebellion*; Rev. James Gordon's *History of the Rebellion*; Maxwell's *History of the Rebellion of 1798*; Jackson's *History of the Rebellion*;



ganization ; and the spirit of republicanism, so strongly pervading the Ulster dissenters, began to leaven the minds of Irish Catholics of the middle and humbler classes. Their primary object was to endeavour for rights, unjustly withheld from them, by peaceable and constitutional means. These unjustifiable proceedings of the northern Orangemen so exasperated them, that with the expected aid of the French, United Irishmen resolved upon nothing less than an entire separation from the crown of Great Britain. [2.] Wolfe Tone and certain other emissaries left Ireland for France, where they entered into correspondence with the Republican Directory. The great zeal and ability of Tone urged upon the French government, then most hostile to England, the advantages of a well-devised plan for the invasion of Ireland. [3.] Arbitrary and atrocious measures had been adopted by the unprincipled men, charged with a direction of government affairs, to excite popular disaffection ; general exasperation and rebellious manifestations were the results anti-

Lord John Russell's *Memoirs, Journal and Correspondence of Thomas Moore* ; *Reports from Committees of Secrecy in the Houses of Lords and Commons* ; Sir Richard Musgrave's *Memoirs of the different Rebellions in Ireland* ; *Dickson's Narrative* ; *The Press* ; *The Northern Star* ; Lord Holland's *Memoirs of the Whig Party* ; *Life of Thomas Reynolds*, by his Son ; *Roche's Essays by an Octogenarian* ; *Gentleman's Magazine* ; *Dublin Magazine* ; *the Public Characters of 1798, with portraits* ; *Apostacy of Newell*, written by himself ; *New Monthly Magazine* ; the papers and correspondence of Major Sirr and others, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

pated and desired by Pitt and many of his partisans. Subsequent revelations leave these facts ascertainable, beyond the possibility of a doubt.

[4.] On the 24th of December, 1796, part of a French fleet anchored in Bantry Bay, under the command of Admiral Bouvet, who returned to Brest in the beginning of 1797. Tone, who happened to arrive with this squadron, urged every argument to induce Admiral Bouvet and General Grouchy to land, with the forces on board. Acting on previous instructions, all his representations were disregarded. For this expedition, 17 ships of the line, 13 frigates, and 18 sloops, having on board 14,000 men, 45,000 stand of arms, with artillery and ammunition, had been prepared. The land forces were under the command of General Hoche. After the fleet left Brest harbour, the ship, which carried the admiral-in-chief, the general and his staff, had been parted from the other vessels, by a storm, that continued during the whole time of this expedition.

[5.] In vain were efforts made to obtain Catholic representatives and reform from the corrupt minions of the government, forming a vast majority in the Irish parliament. Wearied with fruitless efforts used for their objects, Mr. Grattan and other popular members adopted an unwise resolution to secede from the Commons' House.

[6.] This served to strengthen still more the parliamentary despotism of government, and tended to rest all expectations of the popular party on the chances of a successful revolution.

[7.] The United Irishmen again entered into a league with the French Directory, in 1797, by which it was agreed, that France should send over troops for another invasion of Ireland. The French government readily entered into their views, and promised to draft even a larger force than would have been required. This resolve awakened some suspicions amongst the Irish chiefs, who imagined, that their allies only wanted to conquer this island for themselves. They accordingly refused to accept more than 10,000 French soldiers, which number was judged sufficient to effect their purpose. Pikes and other warlike instruments were manufactured in Ireland, and insurgent leaders chosen ; so that they now only waited an arrival of their allies, who were hourly expected. Government likewise made preparations for defence. A militia and yeomanry force had been enrolled with this object in view. Additional troops were sent over to Ireland, for the purpose of resisting all these rebellious attempts.

[8.] The rebellion, now, was on the eve of breaking out, for the people were goaded to madness, by tortures, inflicted through mere suspicion or wantonness, and by military licentiousness, plundering, terrorism and coercion. Most degraded and perjured informers were paid and patronised by the Castle officials. The 28rd of May, 1798, had been appointed for a general uprising of the people. [9.] Through the instrumentality of one Reynolds, government learned all secrets and plans of the leaders, several of whom were

arrested, and particularly Lord Edward Fitzgerald, after a desperate struggle, in which he received wounds that soon afterwards caused his death. Numbers were tried or executed, without the formality of civic judicial sentence. These proceedings induced other chiefs, not yet arrested, to commence hostilities, before arrival of the French.

[10.] According to information received by government, preparations were made to secure the metropolis, on which a midnight attack was apprehended. Some excursions of royal troops towards the vicinity succeeded in dispersing the insurgents. Other isolated attempts had been arranged by the latter, from the execution of which they hoped for a more favourable issue. [11.] Accordingly, the rebels surprised small parties of royalists at Old Kilcullen, Dunboyne, Barretstown and Prosperous. The town of Rathangan was taken possession of by the insurgents, after having defeated a detachment of royal troops. At Naas and Kilcullen Bridge they were defeated, as also, at Carlow. This latter reverse was occasioned chiefly through their own mismanagement. On that same day, they were repulsed at Hacketstown and Monasterevan. On the day following, 26th of May, they were dislodged from the hill of Tara, and suffered considerable loss.

[12.] In Wexford, however, they gained an important victory, on the hill of Oulart, where with the loss of nine, in killed and wounded, they slew a whole detachment of Cork militia. They ad-

vanced upon Camolin and Enniscorthy. Here a well-contested action took place between the garrison and the infuriated multitude leading this attack. From this town the loyalists and king's forces retired to Wexford, whence they were likewise driven, as the rebels advanced in force. Gorey was evacuated by its garrison. An insurgent camp was formed on Vinegar Hill, overlooking the river Slaney, near Enniscorthy. Some military detachments, sent to relieve Wexford, were intercepted, and many were slain. [13.] In Wexford county the people were driven into resistance by the excesses of soldiery and a brutal Orange yeomanry, without much previous combination or forethought. The delirium of local feuds prepared the way for burning of houses, destruction of property and a deplorable loss of life.

[14.] General Dundas had issued a proclamation in Kildare county, which induced many of the rebels to lay down their arms and return home. This example influenced others to sue for pardon, which was accorded by the military authorities. [15.] But, a diabolical treatment was experienced by the insurgents, near the town of Kildare. Being invited to attend, at the Gibbet Rath on the Curragh, for the purpose of delivering up their arms and obtaining protection, these insurgents were fired upon by the soldiers and some hundreds killed—not, however, until they had been deprived of arms and were perfectly defenceless. This heartless and deliberate massacre occurred on the 29th of May. [16.] It is no wonder, if

these exasperated men, who joined the standard of rebellion, were provoked to retaliate, when such cruel examples were set, on the part of royalist yeomanry, militia and regulars. Several un-offending men were put to torture by the military and yeomen, without even a shadow of trial. Many more were executed, on mere suspicion of complicity, within the city of Dublin, and in other parts of the kingdom.

[17.] On the 1st of June, about 4,000 rebels attacked Newtownbarry, from which militia, to the number of 500 men, were driven. On subsequently returning, they defeated these rebels, who were for the most part stupidly intoxicated. The insurgents next took post on Corrigrua Hill, whither the royal army advanced upon them, from the direction of Gorey. The soldiers were surprised, by a party of rebels, who routed them with great slaughter. The military commander, Colonel Walpole, being shot, his men fled towards Arklow in the greatest confusion. [18.] Here an attack was made, on Colonel Needham, with 1,600 of his men, but after an obstinate engagement, lasting for two hours, the rebels desisted. During the heat of this engagement, one of their leaders, the Rev. Michael Murphy, was killed by a cannon ball. [19.] On the 5th of June, a body of over 20,000 rebels, under command of Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, a Protestant barrister of fortune, attacked the town of New Ross. They succeeded in gaining possession, but the troops rallying again, drove them out of this town. The rebels

also rallied several times, and were led back to the charge. After an engagement, which lasted for ten hours, with little intermission, the peasantry retired, with a loss of 2,000, whilst the number lost by the royal army is estimated at 800 men.

[20.] In the north, the town of Antrim was taken by the insurgents, under the command of Henry Joy M'Cracken, on the 7th of June, after some obstinate fighting, and a troop of soldiers, sent against them, was defeated. Being well reinforced, however, the military advanced upon the town, when its defenders abandoned it. The rebels with their leader retired to the hill of Slemish. M'Cracken was afterwards arrested, tried, and executed in Belfast, on the 17th of July. Several other skirmishes took place in this county. The rebels finally dispersed to their respective homes.

[21.] In Down and in some southern counties, the rebels were worsted after some well-contested engagements. In the former county, a troop of cavalry was defeated at Saintfield. Henry Munroe assumed the leadership of some insurrectionary bodies, which he posted at Ballynahinch, where he was attacked by the royal forces, on the 12th of June. For a considerable part of the time, this battle hung in suspense ; but the irregular bands of insurgents at last fled in a panic. They finally dispersed amidst the mountains. Being badly provided with arms or ammunition, the northern United Irishmen were prevented from seconding that opposition, made by their friends, in the south-east.

[22.] Some isolated attempts, thus made, were attended with like consequences to the rebels. If they had made a general attempt, it is almost certain, notwithstanding their ill-furnished resources and their undisciplined forces, that the king's troops would be finally defeated. Instead of acting collectively, each county pursued a plan different from the other, and the inhabitants acted without previous concert. It may here be proper to state, that the arms, used by the rebels, were chiefly pikes, with some exceptions, especially in the county of Wexford, where the peasantry were accustomed to carry fowling-pieces.

[23.] Meantime, the insurrection in Wexford was not abated. The Rev. Philip Roche was appointed leader, on the resignation of Mr. Harvey. The rebels, to the number of 20,000, were posted on Vinegar Hill, whither the royal army advanced from several quarters, for the purpose of surrounding them. [24.] After an obstinate resistance, on the 21st of June, they were obliged to abandon this post, and retreat upon Wexford, as royal troops, to the number of 20,000, commanded by General Lake, with Generals Loftus, Needham, Duffe and Moore acting under his orders, pressed them on all sides. [25.] Some disgraceful massacres were perpetrated by an excited rabble in Wexford, before the rebel fugitives arrived there after the attack on Vinegar Hill. With equal barbarity the troops sacrificed the lives of many stragglers, and devastation marked their pursuit of insurgents to the very walls of Wexford. This



town the half armed peasantry abandoned. Military executions followed after its evacuation by the rebels ; several respectable persons were likewise tried by court-martial and ordered for death. General Moore, also, defeated a party of rebels at Goff's Bridge.

[26.] The insurgents now divided into different bodies. The main force retreated through Scollagh Gap, over the Black Stairs mountains, thence on through Carlow county to Killedmond, which town they burned, as also Castlecomer, in the county of Kilkenny. Another party advanced against Gorey, whence the loyalists were driven to Arklow. On the 26th, the main body was defeated at Kilcomney Hill, and obliged to retreat back through Scollagh. Finding themselves now pressed on all sides, they retreated in different directions. Some fled to the woods of Ferns, others to Mount Leinster; and part of them took refuge in the woods of Killaughran.

[27.] After their retreat from Kilkenny, followed by Sir Charles Asgill, the poor and defenceless inhabitants of Scollagh and other neighbouring townlands were inhumanly massacred by his orders. Men, women, and children were butchered in cold blood—neither age, sex, infirmity nor innocence could obtain exemption from this common fate—and numbers were slaughtered without mercy. This cruelty was sufficient to exasperate the rebels, but it also served to prolong this insurrection, after all hope of a prosperous issue had departed from the unfortunate people, who had been engaged in its prosecution.

[28.] In the month of June, Lord Cornwallis, the newly appointed lord lieutenant, arrived, and soon afterwards a proclamation was issued, in which pardon was offered to all rebels, who would submit and take the oath of allegiance. The leaders were exempted from this amnesty. Before this time, the Irish House of Commons voted a sum of £100,000, as an immediate relief for those, who were in need of assistance, in consequence of late disturbances. Several of the rebel chiefs were afterwards examined before a private committee of the House of Commons. They were not required to implicate individuals, compromised by the events of this insurrection. From evidence given, it appeared that the leaders, for the most part, were Protestant Dissenters. Those, who furnished such immaterial particulars as government desired to know, were permitted to accept exile, as the alternative of a reprieve from death.

[28.] Meanwhile, some insurgents, who were posted in the Wicklow mountains, marched on towards the Boyne, having been joined by some of the Kildare people. Here they were defeated by troops sent from Mullingar and Kinnegad. They were afterwards dispersed at Swords. With this discomfiture, the Leinster rebellion was eventually terminated.

[30.] But an arrival of the French, with 1,100 men, at Killala, revived disturbance in the western parts of Ireland, which had hitherto remained tranquil. On the 22nd of August, these French troops drove a garrison from Killala. Great num-

bers of the peasantry joined their newly arrived allies, who supplied arms and equipments. On the 25th, they gained possession of Ballina. [31.] On the 27th, they advanced, under command of General Humbert, to Castlebar, where the royal troops had taken a strong position, with a superior force, under the command of General Lake. The English force was attacked on the flank, by two detachments of this small invading army. With considerable slaughter and confusion, the garrison was driven from this town, of which the French immediately took possession. The English artillery, a quantity of small arms and five pair of colours were captured.

[30.] Certain intelligence of the French arrival having been received in Dublin, the lord lieutenant set out, at the head of a considerable army. He advanced towards Castlebar, whence the enemy had retired. [33.] Humbert, having collected his small force, advanced towards Sligo. He was followed by Lord Cornwallis, Generals Moore and Lake, Colonel Crawford, with several thousand men, under their command. In front, he was opposed by Colonel Vereker, at the head of his force. At Coloony a battle took place. Vereker was driven back to Sligo, thence to Ballyshannon, with the loss of his artillery. Humbert continued his march through the county of Leitrim. His object being, in the first instance, to penetrate into Longford, and seize upon Granard, he afterwards designed taking Cavan, where a considerable quantity of arms and

military stores was deposited. Some rebels, from about this part of the country, made an attempt upon the former post, which was defended by Captain Cottingham. After a contest of five hours' duration, they were repelled.

[34.] Humbert, now finding himself surrounded by nearly 30,000 of the royal troops, near Balinamuck, turned upon those behind; after a brave defence, on the 8th of September, several of the French surrendered, whilst their Irish auxiliaries fled in every direction. Being accounted rebels, they were excluded from quarter. On the 22nd of September, Killala was attacked by a superior force, and the Irish garrison was driven to Ballina. This virtually terminated rebellion in the west of Ireland, for the peasantry now scattered towards their respective homes, or sought refuge in more distant places. Military executions and massacres closed these tragic scenes.

[35.] On the 12th of October, a squadron of French ships, conveying 4,000 landsmen, appeared near the coast of Donegal. But they were pursued, and most of these vessels were captured by a British fleet, after an obstinate and a bloody naval encounter. [36.] Amongst the prisoners was found Theobald Wolfe Tone, one of the chief projectors of this Irish invasion and a chief leader among the United Irishmen. He was condemned to be hanged, but he cut his throat in prison, and died on the 19th of November.

[37.] Towards the close of this year, a small armament touched at Killala, with 2,000 men;

but this contingent was obliged to retire, on the appearance of some hostile vessels. The only disturbance, which now remained to be quelled, was created by parties of ravaging banditti, that usually follow in the wake of all civil commotions. Thus ended a rebellion, which was rashly undertaken, prematurely commenced, unsystematically conducted, and unsuccessfully terminated.

[38.] In these civil broils, it was conjectured, that no less than 70,000 persons perished. A very considerable number of the country people were cut off, in cold blood, or without the benefit of a legal trial. Property, to the amount of some millions, was also destroyed. What is still more deplorable, a breach was effected in the union of Irishmen, that subsequently worked the downfall of their country, and even yet continues to distract it, with party and sectarian divisions.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. How did the United Irishmen feel and act at this time?
2. Who undertook the offices of negociation with France?
3. What tended to increase popular discontent?
4. Relate the progress and issue of the French landing in 1796.
5. What occurred in the Irish-parliament?
6. Were the results advantageous to the people?
7. What were the preparations now made by the United Irishmen and the government?
8. How was the popular outbreak precipitated?
9. What led to the arrest and death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald?
10. How did the government provide for the occasion?

11. What engagements first took place between the peasantry and the royal forces ?
12. Did any considerable advantages attend the insurgent attempts in Wexford county ?
13. What served to excite the Wexfordians to engage in this struggle ?
14. How did General Dundas meet the emergency in Kildare county ?
15. What happened on the Curragh of Kildare ?
16. What effects did military cruelties produce amongst the excited peasantry ?
17. Early in June what occurred in Wexford county ?
18. Describe the rebel attack on Arklow ?
19. How did the battle of New Ross result ?
20. How did the United Irishmen of Antrim county act ?
21. What resistance did they make in the county Down ?
22. Was the rebellion conducted with any regular system by the populace ?
23. What course did the insurgents afterwards pursue ?
24. Were they left unmolested by the royal troops ?
25. What happened in the town of Wexford ?
26. How did the Wexfordians separate after their expulsion from the chief town of their county ?
27. Were any inhuman actions perpetrated by the soldiery in pursuit ?
28. What were the steps now taken by the government ?
29. What fate befel the Wicklow bands on moving northwards ?
30. What occurred in the west of Ireland ?
31. Describe the French attack on Castlebar.
32. How did the lord lieutenant Cornwallis act ?
33. What were Humbert's tactics and proceedings ?
34. How were they brought to an issue ?
35. In the month of October, what took place off the coast of Donegal ?
36. What was the fate of Theobald Wolfe Tone ?
37. What brought this rebellion to a close ?
38. How are its doleful results to be estimated ?

## LESSON XLIII.

The policy of amalgamating the Irish and British parliaments designed by William Pitt—Its first manifestation in the Irish House of Commons—Popular opposition—Corrupt and despotic course taken by the Irish government of that time—The measure of a Legislative Union again proposed in 1800—Its final adoption by both Houses of Parliament.\*

[1.] SCARCELY had the rebellion terminated, when a question of vital importance was considered, by the respective legislatures of the British and Irish nations. [2.] Pitt had long before meditated the complete abolition of a distinct Irish nationality, supposing, from an English point of view, that such a measure would consolidate the strength and resources of this empire. [3.] Some delusive promises of Emancipation had been made by the Irish viceroy, in order to procure the adhesion of a majority amongst the Catholic clergy and laity

\* Examine the following works for further details, viz.: *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, edited by Charles Ross; Barrington's *Memoirs of the Union*; *The Memoirs and Correspondence of Lord Castlereagh*; *Arguments for and against an Union*, Dublin, 1798; *Cease your funning*; Gifford's *Life of Pitt*; Sir Archibald Alison's *Lives of Lord Castlereagh and Sir Charles Stewart*—a very interesting but panegyrical biography; D. O. Maddy's *Age of Pitt and Fox*; Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*. An immense number of speeches were published, and pamphlets were written, for and against the Union, both anonymously, and with the names of their various authors affixed, in 1799 and 1800.

in support of this project. Loyalists were led to believe, that a legislative incorporation of this island with the rest of Great Britain would secure immunity from all domestic and foreign attempts to create another rebellion. It was contended by the insidious enemies of Ireland, that the only method left, for preventing future insurrections and for amalgamating the interests or feelings of inhabitants, belonging to both countries, would be an adoption of that fatal measure for this nation—the union of their separate legislatures.

[4.] Early in 1799, the question came before both parliaments. In Ireland, it was indirectly propounded by her viceroy, when opening the session, on the 22nd of January. After a long and an exciting debate, this address was carried in the Commons by a majority of one; but on being resumed, with a vigour and an asperity quite unusual, after the noblest efforts of eloquence, on the patriotic side, a division was taken, when government suffered a defeat by an adverse majority of six. It is needless to say, this measure was a favourite one in England. [5.] It was, however, at first rejected by the Irish House of Commons; yet the secretary for Ireland, Lord Castlereagh, and his subordinate, Cooke, did not despair of final success in the discreditable business on which they were engaged. In the House of Lords, ministers were enabled to secure a complete subserviency to their behests, owing to the influence and leadership of Lord Chancellor Clare. [6.] Popular tumults arose out of doors, and some of the most obnoxious



members were assailed, by an indignant mob, and even by some of the more respectable citizens. A general illumination took place in Dublin, on the defeat of this motion, and a public dinner of all the patriotic members commemorated their supposed victory.

[7.] On opening of the session in 1800, the lord lieutenant and his infamous secretary, Castlereagh, had effectively exerted their powers of corruptive influence, amongst popular members. It is to be lamented, that some of the Catholic bishops and clergy, cajoled and deceived by government officials, lent their influence to promote an union, whilst inconsiderately supposing, that ministers were sincere in their promises to confer Emancipation on their body, as a very doubtful equivalent for the extinction of national independence. [8.] However, the great majority of Irish Catholic clergy and laity were true to the best interests of their country, at this remarkable juncture. [9.] On the 18th of January, 1800, Daniel O'Connell, who had the chief direction of preliminary arrangements, convened the Catholics of Dublin, in the Royal Exchange, to petition against an union. His maiden political speech was delivered on this occasion, to counteract the effects produced by less sagacious although influential members of his persuasion. He dilated on the impolicy, illiberality and injustice of the Catholic body in separating from the patriotic Protestants of Ireland, on a question of such vital importance. He declared, that he would prefer the re-enactment of old penal

laws, in all their pristine horrors, as a more tolerable evil, than the suicidal provisions contained in the act for an union between Ireland and Great Britain. In the justice of his brethren, the Protestants of Ireland, who had already relaxed the severity of an oppressive penal code, he would rather confide, than lay his country in bondage at the feet of foreigners. Although government had sent Major Sirr, with a guard of armed soldiers, to dragoon those assembled, Mr. O'Connell's sentiments were highly applauded by the meeting, and embodied in a series of spirited resolutions.

[10.] A great number of pamphlets had been published on both sides, with reasons alleged for and against an Union. During the recess, several popular meetings had been convened, and denunciations of this measure had been proclaimed, by several of the county, city and borough constituencies, throughout Ireland. [11.] A system of terrorism had been devised by government to overawe the people, freeholders and gentlemen, who had assembled to adopt anti-Union addresses. The horrors of the late rebellion were fresh in men's minds, and cannon, directed by the red-coated myrmidons of government, were brought to bear against the deliberations and persons of respectable and loyal constituents. All the sinecurists, officials and place-hunters were actively employed in promoting addresses to favor the government measure, and these salaried slaves used every means within their power to work on the selfish, corrupt, inconsiderate or interested motives of in-

dividuals, neither distinguished for great foresight nor true patriotism.

[12.] With a shamelessness of purpose, beyond all precedent, the most profligate corruption was purposely paraded by government. Vast sums of money, titles and lucrative public offices were tendered to members of the Irish House of Commons, who were willing to accept bribes at the hands of government. It was proposed, amply to compensate the owners of rotten boroughs for their loss of patronage, at an average sum of £15,000, for each town that would be disfranchised. [13.] The most unheard-of and extraordinary instances of delinquency followed, as a consequence of this system of jobbery and political prostitution. What rendered these transactions still more flagitious and humiliating was the circumstance, that these bribes, for the extinguishment of a nation's liberties and for the corruption of her nominal representatives, were charged to the subsequent account of Irish revenue, and levied in the shape of taxes, from a betrayed and outraged people.

[14.] By such seduction and bribery, ministers at length secured a majority over the anti-unionists. [15.] On the 15th of January, 1800, Lord Cornwallis opened the last session of an Irish parliament with a vague speech from the throne ; but he artfully avoided all allusion to the vexed question of this period. [16.] Fully cognizant regarding the intentions of government, this insidious course could not be permitted by the opposition ; and Sir Laurence Parsons moved an

amendment to the address, declaratory of a resolution to maintain the constitution of 1782, as also to support the freedom and independence of the nation. An acrimonious debate ensued. [17.] During its progress, Mr. Grattan, who had been induced to re-enter parliament as the representative of Wicklow borough, made his appearance in the House, but in a state of great debility, the result of illness and mental anxiety. Being indulged to address the House, whilst sitting, he delivered a most luminous, feeling and eloquent speech, which occupied nearly two hours, and held the assembly he addressed spell-bound, if not convinced, with his cogency of illustration, argument and patriotic warning. Lord Castlereagh, an able parliamentary tactician, doubtful regarding the effect of this speech and of Sir Laurence Parsons' motion, which appealed to the pride, spirit, intellect and national feelings of Irish members, moved an adjournment, which was carried by a majority of 42. This division decided the fate of Ireland.

[18.] The term of adjournment expired on the 5th of February, when Lord Castlereagh, still cautiously feeling his way, made a long speech. He laid the Union propositions, passed by the English parliament, before the Irish House of Commons, and moved that they should be printed and circulated. [19.] After a debate, which lasted during the whole night, at eleven o'clock on the following morning, a division was taken; 158 voting for, and only 115 against, Lord Castlereagh's motion. With disheartening prospects, as

to a future issue, the anti-Unionist members still maintained an energetic but unavailing opposition. In the Irish House of Lords, a feeble effort against national extinction was made, for nearly three-fourths of its members always sided with the government.

[20.] Notwithstanding the powerful arguments of Grattan, Ponsonby, Bushe, Parnell, Plunkett, Moore, Parsons, Foster, and other popular, leading men of talent, in the Irish House, the baneful measure of an Union was finally carried. After certain arrangements in the British, and some amendments in the Irish parliament, this act of Union received a royal assent, on the 1st of August. It was proclaimed to the nation, on the 1st day of January, 1801. [21.] These men, who had the greatest share in bringing about this suicidal event, were the Irish-born lords, Clare and Castlereagh; both of whom afterwards lived to experience, if not to repent, the share taken in these memorable transactions. Lord Clare, finding that the Union had not only ruined this country, but what was even more deeply felt, his own selfish and aspiring hopes, retired from England in disgust; whilst Lord Castlereagh, feeling that he had falsified his own plighted promises and reputation irrecoverably, by his too officious and very doubtful services in behalf of the sister island, afterwards put an end to his life. Clare likewise felt the loss of his own power and influence; he soon died of a broken heart!

## QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What happened after the rebellion had been suppressed?
2. By whom was the idea of a Legislative Union conceived?
3. Were any arguments advanced to facilitate this measure?
4. How was it first broached and attempted?
5. Was this experiment considered favourable to government?
6. How was it received by the Irish people?
7. What course did ministers next pursue?
8. Did the great body of Irish Catholics participate in the desire to effect a Legislative Union?
9. How was their opposition strongly manifested in Dublin, and through what remarkable leader?
10. How was popular excitement awakened and directed?
11. Was it counteracted by any efforts on the part of government?
12. To what desperate and unconstitutional means were ministers driven?
13. What were the scandalous developments of their political intrigues?
14. Were they crowned with success?
15. How was the ministerial campaign opened?
16. In what manner was this policy opposed?
17. What note-worthy incidents characterized this debate?
18. How did Castlereagh follow up his parliamentary triumph?
19. State the results.
20. What further events completed the measure for an Union between the Irish and British legislatures?
21. What remarkable circumstances distinguished the death of its chief promoters, in the Irish Houses of Lords and Commons?

## LESSON XLIV.

Rebellion of Robert Emmet—Efforts made to effect Catholic Emancipation—The Catholic Committee—The Catholic Board—Exertions of Daniel O'Connell—Agrarian outrages—Contests on the Veto question—Visit of George IV. to Ireland.\*

[1.] GOVERNMENT continued the insurrection act in full force, until the year 1802, having had correct information, that the spirit of disaffection yet

\* The following works will be found desirable for reference, viz.: Dr. Madden's *Connexion of Ireland with the crown of Great Britain*; *Life and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell, M.P.*, edited by his son, John O'Connell, M.P.; Torrens M'Cullagh's *Life of the Right Hon. Richard Lalor Shiel*; Very Rev. Dr. Meagher's *Life of Archbishop Murray*; Moore's *Life of Sheridan*; Lady Morgan's *Autobiography*; Butler's *Memoirs of the Catholics*; Fagan's *Life and Times of Daniel O'Connell*; Right Hon. Thomas D'Arcy M'Gee's *Irish Settlers in North America*; Daniel O'Connell's *Select Speeches*, edited by his son, John O'Connell; Cardinal Wiseman's *Last Four Popes*; W. J. Battersby's *Jesuits in Dublin*; Right Hon. Lord Plunkett's *Speeches*, edited by John Cashel Hoey; Clinch's *Inquiry*; Right Hon. Richard Lalor Shiel's *Speeches*, edited by Thos. M'Nevin; *Life of Robert Emmet*—Boston, Donohoe; Thomas Moore's *Poetical Works*—Longman's edition, London; W. J. O'Neill Daunt's *History of Ireland, Antient and Modern*; James Burke's *Life of Thomas Moore*; Wm. John Fitzpatrick's *Friends, Foes and Adventures of Lady Morgan*; Rev. G. Croly's *Life of George IV.*; Brennan's *Milesian Magazine*; Right Hon. Thomas D'Arcy M'Gee's *O'Connell and his Friends*; Wm. Shaw Mason's *Statistical Account or Parochial Survey of Ireland*; Scully's *Statement of the Penal Laws which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland*; Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Lord Chancellors of*

lingered in Ireland. Ministers appear, however, to have been deceived as to its actual extent and development. [2.] In 1803, another rebellion had been projected in Dublin, by the youthful and unfortunate Robert Emmet. His preparations had been shrouded in mystery for several months previous, whilst actively engaged in supplying means for projected designs. The principal depot used by his followers was a house, situated in a lane, off Thomas-street, where arms were provided for them. From this station, the conspirators broke forth, between nine and ten o'clock on the evening of July 23rd, with a vain expectation of surprising Dublin Castle. [3.] The unruly rabble murdered Lord Kilwarden in his carriage, together with a relative, who was found in company with him.

*England; Life, Times and some of the Contemporaries of Daniel O'Connell*—Dublin, Mullany. In the Dublin Library, there are valuable files of newspapers and periodicals preserved, which serve to illustrate the political transactions, relating to Ireland, during the early period of this present century. From the period of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, voluminous reports have been issued by the imperial parliament, on various social, political and religious questions, affecting the state of Ireland—these are too numerous to be indicated by title; see *Index to Acts relating to Ireland from the Union, 1801 to 1822*; *The Newry Magazine*; *Insurrection of the 23rd of July, 1803*; *Cox's Irish Magazine*; *Ireland's Mirror*; also several statistical surveys of the various counties in Ireland, issued by the Royal Dublin Society, from about the commencement of the present century to later years, exhibiting the social and agricultural state of this country. Various pamphlets were written on the state of Ireland and on the Catholic question, during the first twenty years after the Union.



This outbreak was however quelled without much bloodshed. Many of the insurgents were taken, together with their leader, Emmet. The latter was afterwards executed for high treason. A like attempt was made in Ulster, by Thomas Russell, about the same time, but with nearly a similar issue to Emmet's wild and unsuccessful attempt.

[4.] Meanwhile, Ireland decreased in trade and national importance each day. Some ineffective attempts were made, by members of the old Catholic committee, to bring their claims before the imperial parliament, in 1805. The whig friends of Catholic Emancipation had declared, that the Irish Catholic bishops would not feel indisposed to allow a veto on the future election of members, aspiring to their station, against whom government might advance official objections. Archbishop Troy of Dublin and Dr. Moylan of Cork seemed assenting parties to such an arrangement. These topics for discussion soon excited grave differences of opinion, amongst Catholics themselves. Successive administrations only deceived and distracted liberal efforts to obtain civil and political rights. Nothing of moment took place, until 1808, when the veto measure was unanimously rejected by the clergy and people of Ireland. [5.] In the year 1799, a meeting of Catholic prelates, trustees to Maynooth College, had been held, at which some resolutions were passed, that first gave rise to this question. By a proposal of compromise, these personages believed, that by giving the crown a sort of interference on

each appointment of a Catholic bishop, they would in return secure an independent state provision for themselves and co-religionists, with a further probability in view of obtaining the much-desired boon of Catholic Emancipation. [6.] But these resolutions of the prelates remained a secret to the clergy and people of Ireland, until 1808, when a motion for the relief of Catholics was brought before the parliament of Great Britain, by Lord Grenville, Messrs. Ponsonby and Grattan. These gentlemen thought themselves empowered by Lord Fingall, to offer a very objectionable compromise, as an equivalent for the proposed measure of Emancipation. However, these terms were rejected by parliament, as also by the Irish people. Even the Irish prelates passed a series of resolutions condemning the veto, on the 15th of September. A number of letters and speeches appeared in the public papers; and these furnished a very accurate test of public feeling, as opposed to any unworthy or imprudent concessions to the policy and prejudices of illiberal or uninformed Protestants.

[7.] About this time, the Catholic Committee, a body which owed its origin to the Catholic gentry and middle classes of Ireland, was called into existence. [8.] Towards the close of 1810, some rather violent speeches, which attracted the notice of government, had been delivered in this committee. Mr. O'Connell had drawn up a voluminous report on the penal code, and he likewise produced a second statement referring to the per-

secutions endured by Catholic soldiers. Early in the following year, a resolution had been adopted, that the secretary of this committee, Mr. Hay, should invite each county to send its Catholic delegates to Dublin. Here, they were expected to form a general committee of Irish Catholics and to prepare parliamentary petitions. [9.] Soon afterwards, the Irish chief secretary, Wellesley Pole, sent circulars to all country magistrates, calling their attention to the provisions of the Convention Act, and requiring them to disperse assemblies, illegally constituted under its meaning. Offending parties should be held over for trial. In Dublin, a police magistrate was sent to dissolve the Catholic Committee, whilst Lord French occupied the chair. This nobleman refused to quit his position, until arrested by the magistrate. [10.] Such an arbitrary proceeding excited a strong sensation throughout the country, and even brought opprobrium on ministers, within the Houses of Parliament. The Catholic Committee addressed the crown, praying for a removal of their chief secretary, and the Duke of Richmond, then lord lieutenant. Government resolved on a further prosecution of some delegates, who had assembled, in defiance of a Castle proclamation. They were brought to trial, and ably defended by Mr. O'Connell, who had then worked his way to distinction at the Irish bar. The traversers were acquitted, although they failed subsequently in an action brought for false arrest. [11.] Soon afterwards, the Catholic Committee was dissolved, and

a Catholic Board was constituted. The latter body eschewed all forms of delegation. This society, likewise, after struggling impotently for the attainment of Irish freedom and Catholic rights, owing to public apathy in political feeling, soon passed into a state of comparative inaction and final dissolution.

[12.] At this period, that truly illustrious Irishman, Daniel O'Connell, began to rise in political importance, amongst the Irish people, as he exerted his influence and his talents to arouse them from a state of civil and religious bondage. He was always foremost in matters requiring the exercise of public spirit, intelligence and activity. He performed an incredible amount of labour in framing resolutions and reports at the metropolitan meetings and in committee. At the bar, his advocacy was unrivalled ; whilst his ability, talents and noble, manly independence, even before illiberal judges in court, reflected credit and character on the persecuted body, which he so ably represented and defended.

[13.] In the year 1813, and during succeeding years, disturbances broke out, in various parts of Ireland, but particularly in Westmeath. Illegal oaths were administered by secret societies, who infested the country and engaged in midnight outrages, plundering houses for fire-arms, burning or otherwise destroying property to a large amount, and compelling all peaceably disposed persons to submit to their lawless demands. [14.] A bill was submitted to the imperial parliament, by the secretary

for Ireland, afterwards the celebrated statesman, Sir Robert Peel. This act enabled the lord lieutenant to appoint a superintendent magistrate, and special constables, over disturbed districts. This bill passed both Houses. It was succeeded by another, in which the lord lieutenant was authorised to enforce martial law, on a district, represented by seven magistrates, as being in a disturbed state.

[15.] Considerable diversity of opinion prevailed amongst the Catholics, as to the most expedient course which should be adopted, in reference to a settlement of their claims. In the Imperial Parliament this question had been introduced each session, during the successive years, from 1812 to 1819, but always with varying results. The parliamentary supporters of Emancipation, Messrs. Grattan and Canning, thought it advisable to give the crown an indirect interference on episcopal nominations, and before the consecration of Catholic bishops. [16.] This view of their question was also acquiesced in by the leading Catholic aristocracy of England and Ireland, as also by the English prelates, with the exception of Dr. Milner. The Irish prelates, with the vast majority of clergy and laity, were totally opposed to that line of policy. Even some ecclesiastical efforts and representations had partially succeeded in obtaining the Sovereign Pontiff's sanction for certain arrangements, in opposition to the most strenuous exertions made by Irish agents, to obviate their tendency. Respectful remonstrances were

addressed to his Holiness, on the danger of allowing a Protestant government any direct or indirect control, over matters relating to Church government or discipline. These statements appear at length to have produced a desired result. [17.] O'Connell led the anti-vetoist party at their aggregate meetings and in the Catholic Board, until at length the aristocracy, finding they had lost all influence over this latter body, determined to secede and then conduct their cause in accordance with their own feelings and opinions. The eloquent Richard Lalor Shiel, at this time a very young man, shared their convictions and policy on the subject of expediency and the veto.

[18.] It was soon discovered, that the Prince Regent had manifested a decided repugnance to entertain the measure of Catholic Emancipation. [19.] However, a growing liberality in the public mind, the result of publications, speeches, and the able articles or letters, daily appearing in public journals, had created a sympathy for an oppressed and injured class of really loyal or secretly disaffected subjects. The writings published by our first of national lyrists, Moore, diffused a knowledge of religious or national wrongs amongst the highest circles of English and Irish society. O'Connell adopted the practice of writing public letters, addressed to the Catholics of Ireland, in 1819. [20.] Notwithstanding his continuous efforts, however, their affairs remained in a very prostrate condition; for every attempt made to redress their grievances, either in or out of par-

liament, signally failed. The Catholic Board had ceased to exist. Despair took possession of the Catholics, as a body, and the utter hopelessness of parliamentary success paralysed all their constitutional exertions. When a whole nation, constituting an integral part of any great civilized community, becomes reduced to such a deplorable state, its condition can only bode weakness and danger to the empire.

[21.] Nothing of peculiar moment occurred until 1821, when George IV. visited Ireland. It was then remarked, that he was the first British sovereign, who had ever visited this country with a peaceable intent. [21.] Accordingly, he was extravagantly and most foolishly greeted by the ill-bestowed and undignified plaudits and welcome of this whole nation. O'Connell and O'Gorman Mahon presented an address from Catholics, as a testimony of their loyalty towards that monarch, who had held out some faint hopes of their expected emancipation. [23.] After a short sojourn in this country, the king took his departure, seemingly affected with the manifested loyalty and gratitude of his Irish subjects. The gracious reception, which he met with, during the time he remained, only served afterwards to embitter the feelings of Irish Catholics, when he totally blasted those fair expectations, which his bland but insincere manners and professions had then excited.

## QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. In what state was Ireland left after the abolition of her native parliament?
2. What event of remarkable importance now took place?
3. What consequences attended Emmet's outbreak?
4. Did any other matters engage public attention in 1805?
5. What first gave rise to the veto?
6. How was it regarded in 1808?
7. What society was next organized by the Irish Catholics?
8. How was its business conducted?
9. Did it encounter any official opposition?
10. What was the result?
11. What shape did the Catholic Committee next assume?
12. Who began to attract especial notice before the Irish public?
13. In what condition were the country districts found by government?
14. What legal provisions were made for the suppression of these disturbances?
15. How did the Catholics and their parliamentary supporters regard the question of Emancipation?
16. Did it create any diversity of opinion and action?
17. Who were the most remarkable men arrayed on either side?
18. What feeling did the Prince Regent manifest?
19. How was public opinion influenced?
20. Were Catholic interests advanced at this period?
21. What took place in 1821?
22. How was George IV. received in Ireland?
23. What feeling was exhibited at and after his departure?



## LESSON XLV.

Defeat of a new bill introduced for the Emancipation of Catholics—Formation of the Irish Catholic Association in 1823—Biblical societies—Suppression of the Association—Examination of lay and clerical Catholics before a parliamentary committee—The new measure for Catholic freedom rejected by the House of Lords—A new Catholic Association formed—Its widely extended influence and combined action—The Clare election of 1828—Emancipation at length obtained in 1829—Dissolution of the Catholic Association.\*

[1.] AFTER the death of Henry Grattan, his friend, Mr. Plunkett, took upon himself the advocacy of Catholic claims, in the British House of Commons.

\* The following works will furnish very instructive reading on the events of this stirring period, viz.: Wyse's *History of the Catholic Association*; Hon. Thomas D'Arcy M'Gee's *Life of Right Rev. Dr. Maginn*; William J. Fitzpatrick's *Life, Times, and Correspondence of Right Rev. Dr. Doyle*; W. J. Battersby's *Ghost of the Catholic Association*; *Ireland and its Rulers since 1829*; *Ireland as a kingdom and as a colony*; W. J. O'Neill Daunt's *Personal Recollections of the late Daniel O'Connell, M.P.*; *Ireland and her Agitators*; Thomas Furlong's *Plagues of Ireland*, and other poems; *Reminiscences of O'Connell*; *Life of Right Rev. Dr. Doyle*, by W. J. Battersby; Rev. Sydney Smith's *Works*; *Life and Works* of the Right Rev. John England, D.D., Bishop of Charleston; Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*; *Life of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel*; *The Edinburgh Review*; *Quarterly Review*; *New Monthly Magazine*; *London and Dublin Magazine*; besides various other pamphlets, miscellaneous works, newspapers and periodicals, published during this period, in England, Ireland, Scotland, as also in the United States and on the Continent.

But the measure which he brought before parliament was fettered with various objectionable conditions. [2.] In 1821, a Catholic relief bill was carried in the lower, but rejected in the upper House. The year following, Mr. Canning introduced a bill to enable Catholic lords to sit amongst the peers of this realm. It passed the Commons, but was defeated in the Lords, by 271 against 129 votes.

[3.] For some time previous, a vast project had only an ideal existence in the mind of O'Connell, always fertile in great political resources. Early in the year 1823, the resolution for establishing a Catholic Association had been formed by O'Connell and Richard Lalor Shiel, who happened to meet by accident, in the secluded country-house of a mutual friend, at Glancullen, embosomed amongst the Dublin mountains. Mr. Shiel expressed some doubts, as to the country being prepared for a development of O'Connell's plan, even if the latter could be made to work. The future Liberator of his Catholic fellow-countrymen adopted a different opinion, and declared his determination to put an Association in working order. It was there they resolved upon sending a circular to some of the most influential gentlemen representing the Catholic body, with a request for their co-operation, in the formation of a society, which would endeavour by constitutional and legal means to agitate for the attainment of Emancipation.

[4.] Accordingly, on the 12th of May, in that

year, this Association was formed at Dempsey's Hotel, in Sackville-street, Dublin, by a number of most respectable Catholic gentlemen. After this preliminary organization of what was called the Irish Catholic Association, the members met in a house at Capel-street. From this beginning, originated a society, which, in numbers and influence, exceeded all organizations that had been heretofore formed in Ireland. O'Connell, who had the chief share in producing this confederation, gradually unfolded his political programme, drew up rules for its regulation and devised a method whereby meetings should be conducted. [5.] Many practical difficulties and much captious opposition marred his first efforts. It was even found a matter of difficulty, to secure an attendance of ten members, the number required by an adopted rule to prevent adjournment. Gradually, however, public attention was excited, and the business of this new Association began to increase.

[6.] On each Saturday, at three o'clock, the weekly meetings were held, and one week's previous notice was required, before any motion could be debated in this Association. Carefully avoiding all assumption of a representative or delegated authority, the members were obliged to pay an annual subscription, one guinea, due on the first day of each year. Registers of minutes, with names and addresses of members, were regularly kept, and the meetings were always open to reporters of newspapers. All Catholic clergymen were deemed honorary members. A subscription was levied each

month, to which all the Catholic people of Ireland were invited to subscribe one penny. This fund was employed, for the purpose of giving effect to plans of the society, and of shielding the subscribers from oppression and insult. [7.] Provincial or parish meetings were held, at stated times, in order to collect the Catholic Rent, to petition parliament for Catholic Emancipation, to give the Association a faithful detail, regarding the condition of respective provinces or parishes, and to repress disturbances. A liberal press was established in the metropolis and in the principal cities and towns throughout the kingdom, for the purpose of exposing all malignant attacks made by the enemies of Ireland, for refuting falsehood, and advancing the best interests of this country. These objects it fully accomplished. Thus the way was paved for greater purposes than were at first imagined, even by the most sanguine friends, who had taken part in the establishment of this powerful Association.

[8.] Fruitless efforts were made, about this time, to pervert the poorer Irish Catholics, by different religious persuasions. The exertions thus made were pompously paraded throughout the empire as a new Reformation. Bribes, bitter invectives and misrepresentations, instead of arguments, furnished the staple agencies or seductions resorted to, in their anti-social and uncharitable polemics. Missionaries employed in this attempt were everywhere met, throughout the provinces, by men and arguments, quite sufficient to confute all their

shallow sophistries and ostentatious pretensions. Bible and tract societies, after a short time, fell into a peaceful slumber. [9.] The unsettled and insecure nature of tenant tenure, with other inveterate social disorders, caused some agrarian outrages in certain parts of Ireland. Disturbances among the peasantry, owing to the exertions of gentlemen belonging to the Association, were however speedily suppressed. Tranquillity was restored, whilst the people began to acquire a thirst for political information, and to learn the best mode of setting forth their grievances to procure speedy and constitutional redress.

[10.] The influence of this mighty and popular organization began to be feared by the enemies of rational liberty. It was clearly felt, that if left to progress, the Catholic cause would advance irresistibly. Government resolved upon putting it down, on the dishonest pretext, that parliament might be left free to legislate on the Catholic question, without a pretence of intimidation. [11.] Accordingly, in 1825, a bill was framed for suppression of the Catholic Association. An act passed, in which it was decreed, that any persons, renewing beyond fourteen days, meetings convened for redress of grievances in Church or State, for carrying on lawsuits, or for the collecting money to serve political purposes, acted unlawfully. This tyrannical and unconstitutional statute was known in Ireland as the *Algerine Act*. The Association petitioned to be heard by counsel, before the bar of the House, in its

own defence. This most reasonable petition, however, was rejected. But the Association defeated the ends of this oppressive bill, by re-modelling its own rules and previous form, without losing any substantial efficiency or influence to direct the current of popular agitation. A delegation of able lawyers and orators, with O'Connell at their head, proceeded to London, where great freedom of action and opinion was allowed these representatives by the Association, in dealing with questions affecting the rights and interests of Catholics.

[12.] In reference to a proposed measure for Catholic Emancipation, several distinguished members of the Irish clergy and laity were summoned to London, in order to be examined before a parliamentary committee. This examination chiefly turned on the doctrinal tenets and disciplinary practices of the Catholic Church, as also on the political, social and religious condition of the Irish people. The Catholic Archbishops of Armagh, Dublin and Cashel, with the renowned Dr. Doyle, bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, Mr. O'Connell, with other distinguished laymen, presented an able and irresistible array of statement and evidence. [13.] The most inveterate former opponents of Emancipation, on conclusion of this very searching inquisition, afterwards declared themselves converts to the justice and expediency of such a measure. Many deep-rooted prejudices and pre-conceived erroneous impressions were removed from the minds of Protestant members of parliament. This long, varied and intricate train

of examination created the most intense interest, throughout all parts of the British empire.

[14.] In the meantime, a Relief Bill had been brought before parliament. It actually passed the Commons, but was lost in the House of Lords, by an adverse majority of 48. To attain the accomplishment of this his favourite measure, O'Connell reluctantly consented to a disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, and to a pensioning of the Catholic clergy. This compromise, however, was indignantly rejected by the clergy and laity of Ireland. However, the chosen leader of Irish Catholics had only erred through over zeal in seeking to advance their cause; his honesty of intention and total exemption from every selfish consideration were unquestioned; and after some little ebullition of public feeling had been manifested, his signal services to country and creed and his unimpeachable integrity were proved, in a manner most useful and honourable to the people and their champion.

[15.] A new Association was formed in the month of July, and regulations for its continuance were framed by Mr. O'Connell. It was convened, for the ostensible purpose of erecting Catholic chapels, to ascertain the state and condition of the population in Ireland, with the relative number of Protestants and Catholics, and to encourage a liberal press. Again it was constituted, by an express proviso, "for all purposes not prohibited by law." With consummate judgment, a wordy deference was paraded for existing clauses of suppression,

whilst a few technicalities served to remodel this new confederacy, according to the spirit and objects of the old Association. In fact, the people derived increased power and influence, from the impotent efforts made by government to extinguish their legitimate aspirations for freedom. It was especially enjoined, that meetings should not continue for more than fourteen days. [16.] No less than 26 bishops, 3,000 priests, and 1,400 Protestant gentlemen, with hundreds of thousands amongst the Catholic laity, were enrolled on its records. The limitation of meetings, by act of parliament, only served to give greater vigour and concentration to the efforts of political agitators. Aggregate meetings were henceforth held throughout the country, whilst petitions were forwarded to the legislature, and on the very same day, from all the parishes of Ireland.

[17.] Hitherto, the Association had exerted itself in preparing for a forthcoming struggle; it had marshalled amongst the ranks of its supporters the forty-shilling freeholders: their strength remained to be tried, and an opportunity was soon presented. A change of ministry, occurring in 1826, involved the necessity of holding a general election. Successful experiments were made, with highly important results. The first election, where the Association showed its strength, was held in Waterford. Lord George Beresford started as the candidate for ascendancy principles, and Mr. Stuart for the people; the latter was returned by an overwhelming majority. At this election, the



people who attended bound themselves to abstain strictly from using spirituous liquors, in order that the peace should be most carefully preserved. In Louth, Westmeath and Monaghan, triumphs were also achieved politically, although at the expense of much personal sacrifice and suffering. Persecuting landlords commenced a heartless system of eviction, in numerous instances, where their humble dependents had dared to exercise a constitutional right of voting, in accordance with their political convictions and the dictates of conscience. We hear much, regarding the liberty of the subject, under our boasted British constitution; but in no other country on the face of this globe—not even in the most absolute—is the honest exercise of popular suffrage attended with greater personal sacrifice and suffering than in our own misgoverned island.

[18.] The new Association continued to attract the attention, not alone of its friends and enemies, within the British islands—foreign nations, not merely lent it sympathy, but even assistance and co-operation. The eloquent, cogent and impassioned speeches delivered by the accomplished orators, who took part in its debates, were duly reported in the public papers, and were even reproduced in foreign languages. Distinguished foreigners visited Ireland, attracted by the interest and sympathy for her people, thus excited. The Association assumed all the functions of a native parliament. Its debates took precedence, in point of importance and interest, of those emanating

from the British senate. The fame of O'Connell overshadowed that, so justly acquired by many other brilliant men of genius then living in this empire. Dublin divided with London, and Ireland with England, the attention of distant peoples and governments.

[19.] These circumstances coerced England into justice, or awakened her almost torpid feeling of shame and disgrace, as Rent was transmitted from all quarters of the United States of America, from the East and West Indies, Canada, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and from many parts of the European Continent. In North America, associations were founded, to co-operate with the struggles carried on by Irishmen.

[20.] Mr. Wyse devised an efficient remedy for local wants, by suggesting the formation and organizing of county and parish liberal clubs, acting in unison with the Association, whilst carefully avoiding the legal objections, which might be urged against their form and constitution. These clubs afforded great assistance in the practical working of aggregate, provincial, county or parochial meetings, in getting up petitions and addresses, in collecting and diffusing political information, in exposing and redressing local abuses, whilst fusing the whole system of agitation, into one compact and indissoluble bond of union. [21.] Unsuccessful efforts were made in opposition, by bigots at home, to keep down the Catholics, through the formation of Orange societies and Brunswick clubs. Instead of retarding, they served only to

hasten the attainment of Catholic rights. These insane displays of illiberal partisans and zealots clearly showed the inferiority both of their numbers and resources, with an infirmity of judgment and intellect characterizing and actuating all the principal promoters.

[22.] The culminating point, to which the Catholic leaders must next direct their ambitious flight, was rapidly, but even to themselves, unconsciously approaching. So far they had succeeded in electing the avowed advocates of liberal opinions; but as yet, no Catholic had been returned to parliament, for many bygone years of oppression. When Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald was obliged to vacate the representation of Clare county, on being raised to a seat in the cabinet, the friends of the Catholic cause were looking for a liberal Protestant candidate to oppose him. It was a necessary preliminary, before taking office, that he should be again returned. With many personal and even political advantages in his favour, the Association felt pledged to displace him from an official position, selected for his acceptance, by a government, professedly hostile to Catholic Emancipation. The public confidently believed, that no Catholic could oppose him. [23.] Mr. O'Connell, however, undeceived the entire nation, by entering the lists, and by sending an address from Dublin to the electors of Clare, offering himself as their representative. This spirited address and proceeding electrified the people. [24.] Extraordinary enthusiasm was excited; several thousand pounds

were subscribed in a few days, to indemnify the popular candidate for the expenses, which must necessarily be incurred. O'Connell posted down to Clare; his whole journey, as he passed the different towns on his way, being marked by popular greetings and demonstrations of excessive joy.

[25.] This remarkable election took place in the month of June, 1828. Probably, through the whole range of electioneering contests, more strenuous efforts were never made, by the friends and supporters of rival candidates. The electors and people of Clare flocked in crowds, to hail their champion, whose victory was already insured. After a few days' polling, Mr. Fitzgerald was driven from the hustings, whilst his opponent was returned by an immense majority. The sheriff signed this return, and the chairing of their successful candidate, by electors and people, through the streets of Ennis, was conducted on a magnificent scale. [26.] Returning to Dublin, a continuous ovation proclaimed the important consequence, attached by the people, to this great achievement. It was made a question, whether O'Connell could sit in parliament, as being a Catholic. The great popular Tribune, however, retained his claim to represent the county of Clare, notwithstanding a strong opposition that beset him, at this most glorious epoch of his political career.

[27.] The Clare election virtually decided the question of Catholic Emancipation. Yet, it raised

a ferment of bigotry, amongst the ultra-Protestants, both in Ireland and England. Government saw the necessity for yielding the stand, previously taken on this question. Public indications of this vacillating policy were not wanting. Some quarrels took place in garrison towns, between Protestant and Catholic soldiers of the British army, on this very topic; and in more than one instance, a mutiny was feared by commanding officers. The liberal Protestants of Ireland, with the Duke of Leinster at their head, urged upon parliament the great danger of longer refusing relief to Irish Catholics.

[28.] About this time, Mr. Lawless proceeded on a political tour to the north of Ireland, for the purpose of organizing Catholics residing there; but, on being followed by a multitude of Leinster Catholics, to the number of 250,000, he was apprehensive lest the Orangemen and Brunswickers should come into collision with them. He accordingly abandoned this design. At a moment, when the people who accompanied him, determined that he should march through Ballybay, where thousands of armed Orangemen had already assembled to resist his progress, remonstrances proving vain, Lawless got out of his carriage and mounted a swift horse. He then galloped off, to the great chagrin and disappointment of his followers. For this inconsiderate and imprudent conduct, he was afterwards arrested in Dublin, but liberated on bail.

[29.] Thus it appeared evident, even to their

most bigotted opponents, that Emancipation, if withheld from Catholics, might produce terrific consequences. Although pledged against it, government found, that longer opposition to Catholic claims would be madness in the extreme. [30.] After allowing some interval to elapse from the date of his return for Clare, Mr. O'Connell proceeded to London, at the opening of the parliamentary session. He was asked to take the usual oaths—so repugnant to the conscience of every good Catholic—that the sacrifice of the mass, and the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, with other saints, as practised in the Church of Rome, were impious and idolatrous. This oath he rejected with becoming indignation, and after a lengthened discussion, he was heard, speaking in his own defence, for the space of three hours, at the bar of the House. [31.] Meantime, in consequence of a royal recommendation, to which the king was strongly urged by his ministers, an Emancipation Bill had been introduced into parliament.

[32.] In the year 1828, a Relief Bill had passed the Commons, but it was thrown out in the Lords, by a majority of forty-four. The following year, through all stages it passed both houses, by considerable majorities, and it was declared law on the 13th of April, 1829, having then received the royal assent. [33.] This measure, however, was clouded by a disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders: qualification for exercising the right of suffrage having been raised to

ten pounds. Almost simultaneously with the boon of legislative and judicial power, conferred on Catholics, a bill for the suppression of their Association had passed both houses of parliament. [34.] Assurance of their long-denied relief measure having been conclusively ascertained, the Catholic leaders resolved on anticipating the operation of this act, passed for a suppression of their great political organization. The Association, having accomplished the primary object of its meetings, soon afterwards was formally dissolved, by the deliberate and voluntary action of its members.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. Who assumed the conducting of Catholic affairs in parliament on the demise of Henry Grattan?
2. What were the results of parliamentary efforts to procure measures of relief?
3. What led to a formation of the Irish Catholic Association?
4. By whom and when was it organised?
5. What were the principal obstacles opposed to its first stages in progress?
6. State the principles and rules that guided its course of procedure.
7. What were its chief political results?
8. How were the extreme fanatical Protestants next employed?
9. Were any predial disorders known at this period?
10. With what feeling was the Irish Catholic Association regarded by the ruling powers?
11. What measures were accordingly taken by them?
12. What remarkable exposition of Irish and Catholic grievances came to light in 1825?
13. Was any great change produced thereby on the state of public opinion?

14. What was the result of parliamentary efforts for Emancipation this year, in both houses of parliament?

15. How did O'Connell continue to evade the tyrannical ukase of an unreformed parliament?

16. Were any proofs afforded of renewed vigour in the action of this new popular assembly?

17. How were its power and influence manifested during the general election of 1826?

18. What degree of attention did its course of action excite in distant countries?

19. Whence did pecuniary aid and sympathetic feeling flow in support of home agitation?

20. Through what active agencies did Mr. Wyse direct popular energies?

21. Were any opposing forces brought to bear on the Liberal Clubs?

22. In the summer of 1828, what remarkable political event excited popular expectation?

23. How did Mr. O'Connell act in this political emergency?

24. What followed his address to the Clare electors?

25. Describe some incidents of this county contest.

26. What followed on O'Connell's departure from Clare?

27. What were the moral and political consequences of this triumph?

28. What happened in Ulster about this time?

29. What convictions were produced on the minds of those most opposed to Catholic Emancipation?

30. Did any ordeal await O'Connell, when he appeared in the House of Commons?

31. How did the Tory king and government act at this juncture?

32. What measures occupied the attention of parliament?

33. Were any counteracting clauses of restriction imposed on the Irish Catholics when the Act of Emancipation was carried?

34. What caused a dissolution of the great Catholic Association?



## LESSON XLVI.

Catholics returned at the general election in 1830—O'Connell's career of popular agitation—He advocates Repeal of the Union—Anti-Tithe campaign—Parliamentary reform—Government opposition—The O'Connell Annuity—Parliamentary discussion on the question of Repeal in 1834—Whig and Tory administrations—The Earl of Mulgrave appointed Lord Lieutenant—O'Connell's mission to England and Scotland in 1836—Irish poor law and tithe rent-charge.\*

[1.] By unanimous acclaim, the illustrious Liberator of his Catholic fellow-countrymen, was henceforth recognized as the tried and trusted

\* Consult the following works, in addition to many of those mentioned in the previous lesson, viz., Murray's *Life of John Banim*; *The Dublin University Magazine*; Binn's *Miseries and Beauties of Ireland*; *A full Report of the Evidence produced at a Coroner's Inquest, held at Newtownbarry, Co. Wexford, June, 1831*; *Parliamentary Reports on the Orange Institutions of Great Britain and the Colonies*; *Parson's Hornbook*; *Wright's Scenes in Ireland*; *Lewis' Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*; *Random Sketches of the House of Lords and Commons*; *R. M. Martin's Ireland Before and After the Union*; *D'Alton's History of Tithes*; *Stanley's Ireland and Her Evils, fully considered*; *The Dublin Review*; *Dr. R. R. Madden's Literary Life and Correspondence of the Countess of Blessington*; *Tait's Magazine*; *National Magazine and Dublin Literary Gazette*; *Bennett's History of Bandon*; *The Irish Quarterly Review*; *Eneas Macdonnell's Letters to the Editor of the Times*; with a great number of contemporaneous pamphlets, newspapers and periodicals. The Ordnance Survey Records, Reports on the Census, National Education, Poor Laws, &c., serve to illustrate the political and social affairs of Ireland at this era.

political leader of the Irish people. O'Connell had been expressly excluded from the representation of Clare, by terms introduced on passing the Emancipation Act. However, it is quite needless to observe, that when this ostracised representative addressed himself once more to seek the suffrages of Clare electors, in a letter dated London, May, 25th, 1829, he was returned unopposed. After the death of George IV. in 1830, O'Connell, Shiel, Wyse, Lawless, O'Dwyer, Ronayne, with a number of talented Irish Catholic representatives, were triumphantly returned at this general election, to serve their terms in the Imperial Parliament. From the moment of his first entrance on this stage of a new career, O'Connell established a high reputation as a debater, and in a peculiar style of rich, nervous and impressive oratory. In all encounters with parliamentary opponents, his cutting sarcasms, racy humour, powerful vituperation and resolute intrepidity soon left him, without a willing opponent, in this peculiar species of oratory.

[2.] Whilst a course of popular excitement continued, the Man of the people directed their efforts towards a redress of Irish grievances in the existing parliament. Various social and political evils, which he desired to have removed, were specified in his public letters and speeches. [3.] Radical Reform he advocated, Vote by Ballot and Universal Suffrage, for all persons over the age of twenty-one, not convicted of capital offences or declared mentally incompetent, by the verdict of a

properly constituted jury. A repeal of the subletting act—a repeal or modification of the Vestry Bill—a total alteration of the grand jury system of jobbing—municipal reform—correction of the law of libel—abolition of tithes, sinecure offices and pensions not deservedly earned by public services—a comprehensive code of legislation and procedure, with law reform, cheap, secure and expeditious in its operation—the abolition of irresponsible power in the hands of magistrates and judges—an act to regulate and secure charitable trusts—simplification and security of land tenure—abolition of illegal tolls and customs—a good system of education for the Irish people—the abolition of taxes and customs, interfering with a diffusion of useful knowledge, public improvement and civilization, or pressing onerously on articles of indispensable necessity for popular consumption: these were objects sufficiently comprehensive and tangible to form constant topics for discussion and agitation. [4.] O'Connell founded a new Association, during the Easter recess of 1830, entitled the Society of the Friends of Ireland. His efforts were especially directed to secure for the people that position and influence, which would make their power felt in the council chambers of this empire. Labouring to unite Irishmen of all creeds and classes, in behalf of their common country, the great popular leader drafted admirable rules, foreshadowing his ulterior object to excite a great anti-Union agitation.

[5.] In 1830, O'Connell, rightly judging that political organization was necessary to accomplish

still greater triumphs, addressed a number of most argumentative and exciting letters to his countrymen, from his mountain home of Darrynane, upon the great vital question, Repeal of the Union. Enthusiasm, earnestness and an intense love of nationality then pervaded public opinion. Democratic meetings and political entertainments furnished indubitable demonstration of the hold this question had taken on the country. [6.] Government, finding that popular feeling in Ireland was greatly excited and almost unanimous upon this subject, authorised the lord lieutenant to put down, by force, meetings specially convened for this purpose. An anti-Union Association was in process of formation in Dublin, when a proclamation for its suppression was issued by the Irish Chief Secretary, Sir Henry Hardinge. But leaders of the people evaded this unconstitutional decree, as they did that of 1825. Assembling at breakfast and dinner clubs, they had opportunities for combination afforded them, whilst discussing the soul-stirring subject of Repeal, and denouncing the illegality of efforts made to extinguish popular demonstrations and political action.

[7.] Opposition to tithes, vestry-cess, and other revolting impositions, succeeded. In a few months, it became absolutely impossible to collect these obnoxious taxes. O'Connell took a prominent part in the anti-tithe agitation. Violent diatribes against the parsons were published in pamphlets and periodicals, which largely circulated amongst the people. [8.] But whilst government held out

promises for the total extinction of tithes, a large military force was sent over to Ireland, in order to aid the police in collecting arrears of such iniquitous impost. The people became exasperated, and whilst using every means that ingenuity could devise to resist payment, most horrible massacres were perpetrated by the police, soldiers and yeomanry, under the direction of local magistrates.

[9.] In some instances, the people retaliated ; and the slaughter at Newtownbarry, Carrickshock, Wallstown, Rathcormack, Castlepollard and other places kindled the flame of a smouldering peasant insurrection in various localities. As a panacea for existing ills, ministers had introduced a coercion act into parliament, where it passed, notwithstanding the vigour and indignation manifested in debate by O'Connell and his liberal supporters.

[10.] Parliamentary reform was also agitated, and, after some delay, granted to the Irish, as well as to the English and Scotch ; yet, with such a bad grace, that although Ireland was fairly entitled to a large ratio of additional members, as her admittedly proportionate share of representation, she only obtained five. Against Recorder Shaw, O'Connell resolutely struggled for a large measure of Reform, and delivered some of his most magnificent speeches on these occasions. During the progress of this instalment of justice, the Irish leader greatly distinguished himself in England, both within and without the walls of parliament. His ability was found equal to his energy ; and both were always enlisted on the side of well-considered

popular demands and rights. Democratic strength and power daily progressed, whilst each succeeding election showed an increase of popular re-action.

[11.] Whilst the Catholic hierarchy, clergy and laity were engaged in strenuous efforts to establish and support Catholic colleges and schools, an act for the introduction of a common and mixed system of school education was carried through both Houses of Parliament by Lord Stanley, in 1831. Although not quite in accordance with their expectations, wants and circumstances of the times and country induced the Archbishops Crolly and Murray, with Dr. Doyle, to accept this very imperfect and objectionable measure for the promotion of religious and national popular education. [12.] No sooner had the anti-Union Society been suppressed, than O'Connell organized a new society of Irish Volunteers for Repeal of the Union. Trades' political unions had been established; and through numbers and organization their efforts were found most useful in sustaining O'Connell's course of agitation. Lord Anglesey, formerly so popular in Ireland, where he had promoted Catholic Emancipation, was sent over as lord lieutenant, with Stanley as secretary. They had received instructions from government, to oppose, at all hazards, the progress of a Repeal agitation. The popular struggle, which it devolved on O'Connell to control and direct, now fairly commenced. [13.] All resources of legal ingenuity were wonderfully displayed. Under every form of popular organization and official interference, the

front of successful resistance, whilst ever changing, remained unbroken, and foiled all the despotic proclamations of government. Prosecutions and penal enactments equally failed; whilst they excited a storm of indignation and defiance, against the whig administration and its Irish representatives.

[14.] The Catholic clergy and people of Ireland had originated an O'Connell Annuity, as a testimony of their gratitude and love of justice for the worth and public services rendered to their cause by the great Liberator, and to indemnify him for the large professional emoluments and valuable time spent in the advancement of their national interests. For many succeeding years, thousands of pounds were contributed towards this fund, in a manner alike honourable to the people and to their advocate. O'Connell's exalted position, and generous, unselfish, but not extravagant liberality, involved him in expenses, the extent of which was only known to intimate personal friends. To others, not possessing such opportunities for obtaining correct information, the amount of this expenditure would almost seem incredible.

[15.] After the general election of 1832 was over, O'Connell invited the Irish liberal representatives to assemble at a National Council, held in Dublin. The people and the electors, on his recommendation, had required pledges, for urging Repeal of the Union and abolition of tithes, from their candidates. But the leader did not consider his followers sufficiently numerous to commence a Repeal campaign within the walls of parliament;

and for the present, he wished their efforts to be chiefly directed towards the obtaining of representative Reform. At this time, it was rumoured, that ministers had under consideration the preparation of an Insurrection Bill for Ireland. [16.] Throughout the session of 1833, the Liberator exerted all his powers of oratory and parliamentary tact, to oppose this most unconstitutional measure, during its progress through a reformed English House of Commons. Most stormy debates threw British and Irish members into the highest pitch of excitement, and O'Connell had the intrepidity to characterize the king's speech as a brutal and a bloody one, owing to its recommendation of stringent measures to repress popular disturbances in this country.

[17.] Urged by the suggestions and impatient remonstrances of the Irish press and people, with a pressure brought to bear on their chief, from some of the Irish representatives, on the 22nd of April, 1834, O'Connell brought forward the Repeal question, in the House of Commons. For five long hours, this eloquent tribune dilated, in a powerful and argumentative oration, on the history and effects of Ireland's legislative dependence and independence, in connexion with the crown of Great Britain. He concluded, by moving for a select committee of inquiry. Spring Rice moved a negative amendment, after a long and sophistical speech. Shiel, Feargus O'Connor, Sir Robert Peel and others joined in this debate, which was closed by O'Connell, in a manner worthy of his



own parliamentary reputation, and the importance of his subject. [18.] As might have been anticipated, his motion was negatived by an enormous majority. Only 40 Repeal votes were recorded against 525. [19.] Both Houses afterwards addressed King William IV., when pledges were given to maintain the Union, but at the same time to remedy every just cause of complaint and to sanction all well-considered measures of improvement for Ireland. The latter professions were regarded as delusive and unsatisfactory by the Irish people.

[20.] The anile administration of Lord Grey fell to pieces, owing to an opportune disclosure of its internal weakness and faithlessness, made by O'Connell. Lord Melbourne succeeded, but after some court intrigues, William IV. called the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel to his councils. Lord Haddington was sent to Ireland as viceroy, and Orangeism for a short time became rampant. [21.] A motion for the regulation of Protestant church revenues in Ireland, in opposition to the wishes of Sir Robert Peel, was carried by Lord John Russell. This involved the resignation of ministers. [22.] At the general elections, however, the tory party had suffered a defeat. [23.] After some parliamentary contests in the House of Commons, Lord Melbourne was constituted premier, at the head of a whig ministry. Lord Mulgrave was nominated lord lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Morpeth, chief secretary, Lord Plunkett, chancellor, whilst Perrin and O'Loughlin received the respective appointments of attorney and solicitor-general.

[24.] Hitherto, the Act of Emancipation had become almost inoperative, so far as Catholic official patronage and position had been concerned. At this time, O'Connell had been consulted by leaders of the whig party, then influenced by popular interests and sympathies, to a very considerable degree ; when the great Liberator demanded terms, on which his qualified support for a liberal course of policy and a suitable cabinet might be secured.

[25.] During the viceroyalty of Earl Mulgrave, afterwards created Marquis of Normanby, many popular government appointments took place. By his upright, humane, honest and fearless conduct, faction was moderated, the country was tranquillized, and the warm affections of our people were secured. This talented, honourable and well-intentioned nobleman was at length removed, and succeeded by Viscount Ebrington, who declared his resolution of following in the footsteps of his predecessor. Whig promises and performances, as usually happened, were greatly disproportioned ; and the political rule of either party, whether whig or tory, brought little practical or social benefit to the people of Ireland.

[26.] A searching investigation, regarding the nature and objects of Orangeism, was called for by parliament. This system had been introduced amongst soldiers of the British army. From the evidence adduced, it would seem, that the Duke of Cumberland, as Grand Master, had been regarded by many of the Orangemen, in the light of immediate successor to the reigning king. This

was tantamount to excluding the rightful heir, her present majesty, Queen Victoria, from the throne.

[27.] The whig advent to power and a conciliatory course of policy, however, had tended very considerably to weaken the strength and influence of popular combination. [28.] It having been discovered, that the question, Repeal of the Legislative Union, was hostile to the feelings and wishes of the radical reformers of Great Britain, who had pledged themselves to support all other just demands of the Irish; O'Connell, as he asserted, in order to try how far they were sincere, agreed to set in abeyance his great national demand, upon condition of obtaining justice for Ireland, in equality of degree with England and Scotland. He accordingly proceeded on a mission, through England and Scotland, in 1836, to inform the people about his intentions. He also desired to bring popular opinion to bear, against the incurable obstinacy of British peers, in rejecting every measure of useful reform, having reference to Ireland. Multitudes were attracted to the principal towns and cities, where he addressed them, in a style and with a judgment, peculiarly his own. Everywhere he was enthusiastically received.

[29.] A system of poor laws for Ireland was the next matter for consideration. At length, in 1838, a very hasty and objectionable measure was agreed to; although considerable diversity of opinion existed, during the agitation on this question. On this subject, O'Connell held peculiar opinions,

and met an opponent in every way worthy of his notice and ability in the philosophic, patriotic and statesmanlike prelate, Dr. Doyle. This eminent ecclesiastic did not live to witness the actual operation of those measures, devised for relief of the Irish poor ; and they fell very far short of that humane and comparatively perfect plan he advocated, with such disinterested zeal and energy. [30.] The tithes, also, had been settled, in the nature of a rent-charge, but in a manner most opposed to the feelings of our people. In the first instance, landlords were compelled to pay this charge, reduced 25 per cent. on the parsons' former income. Subsequently, they were empowered to recover one half of this state provision from their tenants. The bill also swept away all existing arrears of tithes.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. What events followed a settlement of the Catholic question ?
2. What were the matters next sought to be remedied ?
3. Recapitulate the heads of existing grievances.
4. How did Daniel O'Connell proceed ?
5. How was the Repeal agitation commenced ?
6. What opposing efforts did the Irish government make ?
7. Did the people exhibit any discontent at this time ?
8. What were the measures adopted by government ?
9. What were the results ?
10. Were any other questions, deserving of peculiar importance, discussed about this time ?
11. Was any remarkable measure in reference to Ireland passed in 1831 ?
12. How did O'Connell direct popular movements ?
13. Was he successful ?

14. What tribute to his talents and services did the Irish people render?

15. After the election of 1832, what course did O'Connell advise?

16. What occurred in parliament during the following year?

17. How was the question of Repeal brought before the House of Commons in 1834?

18. State the issue of this debate.

19. What followed?

20. Did any ministerial changes take place this year?

21. What led to a change of ministry?

22. What party succeeded at the general election?

23. Who assumed direction of public affairs in England and Ireland?

24. Were any changes of administrative policy adopted in reference to Ireland?

25. What happened after the Earl of Mulgrave became lord lieutenant?

26. What remarkable inquiry engaged the attention of parliament?

27. Had the whig ministry of this period a control over the previously excited state of public feeling?

28. On what political movement were O'Connell's efforts next concentrated?

29. Was any parliamentary action taken on the question of a provision for the Irish poor?

30. What sort of compromise disposed of the Irish tithe impost?

## LESSON XLVII.

Father Mathew's great Temperance movement—O'Connell's motives for postponing the Repeal Agitation—The Precursor Society—Founding of the Repeal Association in 1840—Commencement of his new Agitation—Irish Municipal Reform achieved—O'Connell's exertions in and out of Parliament—Discussion on Repeal of the Union in the Dublin Corporation—The Repeal Monster Meetings of 1843.\*

[1.] IN 1838, the Very Rev. Theobald Mathew commenced his apostolic labours, in the cause of

\* Examine the following works : viz., *Father Mathew, a Biography*, by John Francis Maguire ; *Life of the Very Rev. Theobald Mathew, the great Apostle of Temperance*, Boston, 1849 ; *Reports of the Precursor Association Committees*, 1839 ; *Reports of the Irish National Repeal Association* ; *The Citizen* ; Mr. and Mrs. Hall's *Ireland* ; Cæsar Otway's *Sketches in Ireland, Donegal, Cork, and Kerry* ; Levy's *Three Days' Discussion in the Dublin Corporation on the Repeal of the Union* ; Wellington's *Despatches, Supplementary Despatches, Civil Correspondence and Memoranda*, edited by his Son ; *Case of the City of Dublin, the Speeches delivered at the Bar of the Lords in Defence of Dublin on the Irish Municipal Reform Bill* ; Thackeray's *Irish Sketch Book* ; O'Connell, *Question d'Irlande, Passe, Present, et Avenir*, par T. F. D'Ivry ; *The Dublin Magazine*, 1843 ; Otway's *Tour in Connaught* ; Dr. Owen Madden's *The Castle and the Country* ; Serjeant W. Shee's *History of the Irish Church* ; John O'Connell's *Recollections and Experiences during a parliamentary career from 1833 to 1848* ; *The Prize Essays on Repeal of the Union* ; Burton's *History of the Royal Hospital* ; *Life of Archbishop Crolly*, by Rev. George Crolly ; De Beaumont's *L'Irlande Sociale, &c.* ; Flanagan's *Manual of British and Irish History*.

temperance, and succeeded in enrolling millions, who took a pledge, having for its objects, total abstinence from intoxicating liquors, and a social improvement in the moral and religious habits of our people. A great change, and within an incredibly short time, was brought about by the exertions of this zealous and benevolent clergyman. This movement, also, was one destined to confer honour and advantage on our national character, as also on the devoted and laborious champion of its cause. The results of this venerable man's mission were found to be of incalculable advantage, during the great moral and political demonstrations of subsequent years.

[2.] Whatever may have been the motives for political connexion, between Mr. O'Connell and the whig party, certain it is, that public feeling amongst the Irish people became somewhat apathetic, so long as ministers dealt only in promises of substantial benefits, attainable through a dim vista of justice for Ireland. Yet, the whole tenor of his political speeches and letters, at this time, sufficiently proves, that O'Connell never had much faith either in their earnestness of purpose or sincerity of intention. [3.] Forecasting, in his own mind, the prejudices and interests combined, in the sister country, to oppose any radical measures for the cure of Ireland's inveterate social and political evils, he was satisfied to abide the results of an experiment, the serious failure of which would furnish still stronger arguments and necessitate a renewal of his former agitation. Whilst exerting a

cogent Irish pressure on the whig cabinet, both within and without parliament, his master mind was employed in artfully fomenting popular impatience, regarding his own line of policy and expediency. At length, the nation became convinced, that without Repeal of the Legislative Union, all other measures would prove unsatisfactory ; and the great leader resumed his station, as director of this most vital movement.

[4.] A Precursor Society, tending to prepare the public for further political agitation, ultimately gave way to the Repeal Association. Money was subscribed, meetings were held, and agitation proceeded within strictly constitutional limits. O'Connell felt most desirous of carrying a measure of Irish Corporate Reform ; which effort the tories as steadfastly resisted, rightly judging that the great leader would be able to convert most of the reformed municipal councils into normal schools of active agitation. Doubtless, such was his real intention. Whilst using the whigs, as instruments to effect his objects, or extending to them his qualified support and patronage, he very cautiously abstained from revealing his hopes and designs, until matters were in a train for safe explosion. [5.] He still however declared, that in founding the Precursor's Society, he designed making a last effort to procure full justice to Ireland, from the British legislature. This plenitude of his demand was defined to be, an equal participation, in all franchises, rights and privileges, civil and religious, with the people of England and Scotland.



[6.] The spirit of Chartism, mainly guided by the energetic and declamatory, Fergus O'Connor, who was also an Irishman, had to a certain degree counteracted O'Connell's influence over the working men of the manufacturing districts in Great Britain. But, amongst the great masses of the Irish people, this uncrowned monarch of their affections exercised an almost unlimited sway. His coalition with the whigs had become sufficiently irksome. Whilst they had aided in strengthening and consolidating his power, this party had left O'Connell at perfect liberty, as he had clearly foreseen, to complain of existing abuses in church and state, yet unredressed, and which were only likely to be removed by the supervision and legislation of a native parliament.

[7.] Speeches and letters to that effect were showered in almost endless profusion on the Irish public; and at length, he founded a Repeal Association, in the Corn Exchange, Dublin, on the 15th of April, 1840. Every effort, that could be made by the combined whig and tory organs, was sedulously tried, in order to cast ridicule and contempt on this phase of O'Connell's career [8.] Soon, however, the circle of his earnest supporters began to increase in extent and influence. The Catholic, and even many of the liberal Protestant, merchants, gentry and clergy took a stand with the trusted leader, who now began to sound the tocsin, which rallied the tradesmen, farming classes and labourers to the standard of Repeal. Immense multitudes were congregated at Cork,

Limerick, Ennis, Kilkenny and Carrick-on-Suir, during the course of this year. Everywhere, O'Connell and his staff of volunteer agitators were at work, evoking the popular feeling in favour of domestic legislation, and directing all its currents with concentrated force into one irresistible torrent of agitation.

[9.] The first day of the new year, 1841, was inaugurated by a Repeal meeting, held at Howth, which was attended by O'Connell. At Mullingar, Dungarvan, Cork, Belfast, Dublin, Leeds and Leicester, he also appeared and addressed large assemblages on Repeal and Reform. In parliament, an exciting debate took place, in reference to amending the Irish franchise. During the discussions on this topic, the Irish parliamentary chieftain displayed his customary mental and physical energies to great advantage. [10.] In May, a meeting of Repealers was convened in London, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, which had much significance, as it tended to direct the attention of the English people and press to the movement, then advancing with giant strides over the length and breadth of Ireland. [11.] At the general election of 1841, the tories succeeded in ousting the whigs. O'Connell was displaced from the representation of Dublin, but he was immediately returned in Cork. Large contributions from the American Irish flowed this year into the coffers of the Repeal Association.

[12.] During successive sessions of parliament, an attempt had been made to carry Irish Corpo-

rate Reform, through both Houses. It passed the Commons, but was always rejected in the Lords. In 1839, the lord mayor and a deputation from the unreformed Dublin Corporation presented a petition against such a bill, before the bar of the House of Commons. [13.] Soon afterwards, Irish Corporate Reform was secured by act of parliament; and on the 26th of October, 1841, the first town council of Dublin was elected, under the new Corporation Act. Daniel O'Connell was enthusiastically chosen as the people's lord mayor, and he was sworn into office, on the 8th November following. For a long series of years previously, no Catholic dare presume to ambition such a dignity. Similar triumphs were achieved in various other cities and towns throughout Ireland.

[14.] In the year following, an energetic Repeal agitation, coupled with the monster meetings, and bold, defiant language, made use of by the principal national leaders, caused no little apprehension in England. Meetings were frequently held twice each week in the Repeal Association, at which eloquent speeches were delivered. Able missionaries were selected to proceed through the provinces, where in conjunction with the local clergy and laity, public meetings were organized and addressed, whilst active officials, termed Repeal wardens, were nominated for the collection of funds and to report on all matters of special interest to this central body in Dublin. [15.] About this time, the monster petition of the Chartists was borne into the British parliament, by no less

than sixteen overburthened working men. It is said, that it contained no less than three millions of signatures affixed by male adults. Its prayer demanded universal suffrage, as qualified by age, moral worth and mental attainments; vote by ballot; no property qualification; members of parliament, salaried by the people to do the people's work; and short sessions of the Houses of Lords and Commons. O'Connell took part in this debate and pleaded most earnestly for these points of the Charter.

[16.] From the Repeal Committee issued most important reports on the political, social, manufacturing, agricultural and commercial questions affecting Irish interests; whilst the people were enlightened in reference to all measures pending before the imperial parliament. The Repeal Association consisted of Volunteers, who were elected life members on the payment of ten pounds: Members who yearly paid one pound or collected that amount by enrolling twenty Associates, each individual of whom paid one shilling every year. The rules of this Association were admirably framed, by the legal acumen of O'Connell. [17.] In the commencement of 1843, this indefatigable man penned several able letters, before leaving Darrynane for Dublin. [18.] With a finesse, of which he was a perfect master, he had given notice regarding a motion for discussing Repeal of the Legislative Union in the municipal council chamber, on the 21st of February; but to increase the popular ferment and discompose the conservative party, he

suddenly postponed this discussion for another week. In a most powerful speech, which occupied over four hours during its delivery, O'Connell undertook to demonstrate the following nine propositions: *First*, the capability and capacity of the Irish nation for an independent legislature; *Secondly*, the perfect right of Ireland to have a domestic parliament; *Thirdly*, that this right was fully established by the transactions of 1782; *Fourthly*, that the most beneficial effects accrued to Ireland from her parliamentary independence; *Fifthly*, that the Irish parliament was utterly incompetent to annihilate the Irish constitution by uniting with England; *Sixthly*, that as the Union was carried by fraud, force, terror and the greatest corruption, it was not a bargain or contract; *Seventhly*, that the most disastrous consequences resulted to Ireland from the Union; *Eighthly*, that the Union can be abolished by peaceable and constitutional means, without the violation of law and without the destruction of property or life; and *Lastly*, that only the most salutary results can spring from a Repeal of the Union. This most important debate, which lasted for three days, was closed by O'Connell, in a speech, thought by competent judges to have equalled, if not surpassed, the greatest of his previous oratorical displays. Forty-one of the municipal representatives voted in affirmation of his motion: and fifteen votes were recorded against it. The Assembly House was densely and continuously crowded, on this occasion; whilst thousands of the citizens of

Dublin eagerly but vainly sought for admission to the scene, where such an exciting debate was conducted.

[19.] This remarkable event gave a tone to the subordinate corporations of Ireland, where the people's friends formed a majority. In several town councils, this question was considered and debated, with an intelligence and eloquence, which proved the interest felt in its success by the mercantile and trading community. [20.] The agricultural classes next felt the sacred glow of nationality enkindled within their breasts, when in hundreds of thousands they congregated in various parts of Ireland, at the summons of their distinguished moral force chieftain. [21.] At Trim, Cahirconlish, Bellewstown, Clones, Rathkeale, Limerick, Mullingar, Charleville, Cork, Cashel, Nenagh, Longford, Drogheda, Kilkenny, Clare, Athlone, Dundalk, Enniscorthy, and on the Hill of Tara, numbers had assembled. [22.] The latter was one of the most magnificent popular demonstrations on record; for it has been fairly calculated, that not less than 700,000 persons assembled at this historic spot. Forty-two bands enlivened Tara, with the strains of Ireland's unrivalled native music, before the deep and sonorous tones of their Liberator's voice fell on the ravished ears of those enormous masses of people congregated around him.

[23.] Whilst these proceedings were in train, the government carried out a petty persecution by removing all Repeal magistrates from the peace

commission. Threats were also held out by the tory administration, that additional powers would be applied for to parliament, in order to crush out this unprecedented spirit of agitation. [24.] O'Connell from the platforms of the monster meetings and the Repeal Association hurled defiance at ministers. The Irish in England, Scotland, the British colonies, the United States of America, and even foreigners, were profoundly moved by the issue involved, and nearly £50,000 flowed from all sources into the Repeal treasury, during this particular year. [25.] Thirty-two monster meetings had been assembled, in every province of Ireland, from the commencement of this celebrated "Repeal year," to the date of that vast assemblage, held on the 15th August, at Tara. Banquets usually accompanied or immediately followed the open-air attendance, in these various localities. [26.] One of the Irish Catholic bishops declared, he had reason to know, that every one of his brother prelates, without any exception, was an ardent Repealer. The tendencies of the second order of clergy were unmistakable. North, south, east and west, this island had generally pronounced for O'Connell principles; and with surpassing health, spirits and energy, he was found equal to the constant demands made on his time and talents, his mental and physical powers of endurance.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. Who became honorably distinguished about this period?
2. What effects were produced on the popular mind by O'Connell's temporary coalition with the Whigs?

3. What were the motives and desires which may be supposed to have actuated the Irish leader?
4. Was any indication given regarding his expected revival of the Repeal agitation?
5. How was it expressed?
6. Who divided popularity with O'Connell in England?
7. What led to the establishment of the Repeal Association?
8. Was its influence soon felt?
9. State some particulars regarding the popular manifestations of 1841.
10. Was the Repeal question agitated in England?
11. What took place at the general election?
12. Describe the progress of Irish Municipal Reform.
13. Did it result in popular triumph?
14. What followed in 1842?
15. What occurred in parliament?
16. What particulars deserve to be noted regarding the committees of the Repeal Association?
17. How was agitation opened in 1843?
18. How was the Repeal question introduced into the Dublin Municipal Council?
19. What effects did its discussion produce in the provincial cities and towns?
20. Were any other results produced?
21. Where were Repeal meetings held?
22. Which of these popular demonstrations deserves to be specially noticed?
23. What course was resolved on by the Tory government?
24. What response did the Irish people and their leader return to these resolves?
25. How was the "Repeal year" distinguished?
26. What gave particular vigour and effect to the occurrences of this year?



## LESSON XLVIII.

Proclamation issued by the Lord Lieutenant—Counter-proclamation of O'Connell—State Trial of 1844—The House of Lords reverses the sentence—Dissension created amongst the Repealers—The '82 Club—The Irish famine—Secession of the Young Ireland party from the Repeal Association—Subsequent events—O'Connell's final efforts in Parliament—His death—Estimate of his personal character and political career.—Conclusion.\*

[1.] COUNTLESS multitudes gathered at all the places designated for mass meetings, as this year wore on, but more especially during the summer months. At Roscommon, on the 20th of August, O'Connell addressed 200,000 persons; and in the beginning of October, 400,000 assembled to hear him on the rath of Mullaghmast. Here, O'Connell was crowned by the hands of Hogan, the celebrated Irish sculptor, before a vast multitude, who made

\* The following works deserve attention: viz., Mrs. F. West's *Summer Visit to Ireland* in 1846; Sir Robert Kane's *Industrial Resources of Ireland*; *Transactions of the Central Relief Committee during the Famine in Ireland*, in 1846, 1847; *Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland*—Dublin, 1845; William Bernard MacCabe's *Last days of O'Connell*; Most Rev. Dr. MacHale's *Letters*; L'Abbé Emmanuel Domenech's *Voyage et Aventures en Irlande*; Venedy's *Ireland during the Repeal Year*; Heron's *History of Trinity College*; *The Trial for Conspiracy of the O'Connells, Steele, Duffy, Tierney, Tyrell, Barrett, Gray, and Ray, at the Court of Queen's Bench*, in 1843, reported by Armstrong and Trevor; Foster's *Letters on the condition of the People of Ireland*; *Ireland under Lord De Grey*—1844; Holmes' *Case of Ireland*—1847; *The Rising of Ireland*: Dublin, 1848; Doheny's *Felon's Track*: Kohl's

the air ring with acclamations. [2.] One more of these stupendous gatherings had been arranged to take place at Clontarf, near Dublin, on Sunday the 8th of October; when late on the Saturday evening previous, Lord De Grey issued a prohibitory proclamation from Dublin Castle. Troops and police were poured into Dublin, from the provinces and across the channel. Squadrons and military detachments, with cannon, had been posted to cover all the various approaches to Clontarf. [3.] However, O'Connell had a counter proclamation, issued from the Committee Rooms of the Loyal National Repeal Association, signed with his own name, and exhibited over the city, a few hours after the government posters had been affixed to the Castle gates. The people were entreated to remain at home, and their leaders adopted every precaution to disperse the multitudes assembling from the most distant quarters.

[4.] Ministers thus deprived of an opportunity

*Ireland; Frazer's Handbook for Ireland; Policy of England towards Ireland*—London, 1845; *Martin's Account of Ireland; Richard's Memoirs of Joseph Sturge; John O'Connell's Argument for Ireland*—1844; *William Smith O'Brien's Meditations in Exile; T. M. Ray's Report on the Irish Coercion Bill; Jules Gondou's L'Agitation Irlandaise depuis 1829, les proces, la condamnation et l'acquittament de Daniel O'Connell.* Besides the foregoing printed works, an interesting and a most valuable collection of letters, written by O'Connell and his intimate friends or public characters of the day, remains in possession of his daughter, Mrs. Fitzsimon, who has long been engaged on a biographical work, relating to her illustrious father.

for extinguishing the Repeal excitement in bloodshed and terrorism, now resolved on indicting O'Connell, with his son, John, Thomas Steele, Charles Gavan Duffy, John Gray, Richard Barrett, Thomas Matthew Ray, Rev. Mr. Tyrell, and Rev. Thomas Tierney, for being implicated in a conspiracy to supersede the tribunals of justice, to corrupt the soldiery, to intimidate government, to create hostility between different classes of her Majesty's subjects, and between the two nations of Ireland and England. [5.] This remarkable state trial opened on the 15th of January, 1844, and consumed the remainder of this month, when the principal agitators were condemned on several counts. O'Connell, however, had an opportunity afforded for attending in Parliament and there protesting against this impeachment and the system of jury-packing resorted to by government, before himself and his brother conspirators were called up for judgment, which took place on the 30th of May. They were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, fines and bonds. The traversers were immediately conducted to Richmond Penitentiary, near Dublin.

[6.] But the decision of a Dublin court was reversed by judgment pronounced from the House of Lords, in the month of September. Public rejoicing was great in Ireland, on receipt of this intelligence. [7.] The Repeal martyrs, as they had been styled, were conducted in triumph from prison, by the citizens of Dublin, arrayed in a grand procession. A new building, known as

Conciliation Hall, had been fitted up for the Repeal Association proceedings; and here O'Connell continued as before, the earnest advocate of native legislation. Most unaccountably, however, a lull passed over political excitement and popular expectations, on an advent of the whigs to power, which shortly afterwards took place.

[8.] Previous to the holding of popular meetings, a talented and public-spirited, but somewhat intemperate, advocacy of national rights, commenced in the columns of a paper, called the *Nation*, that in a short time evoked an enthusiastic spirit amongst the people. They were taught self-reliance on their own efforts, an intense hatred of English rule, and a distrust of the great contending governmental parties in England. A discontented party sprung up, the avowed propagandism of whose school won over a large proportion of the Irish people, particularly amongst the middle and humbler classes, as also amongst the excitable and enthusiastic youth. [9.] Their influence began to extend itself, even within the Repeal Association councils, where the power and authority of O'Connell seemed little less than absolute. Again, he was thwarted by a party, advocating a Federal Parliament for local and national purposes sitting in Dublin, whilst Irish members, also, according to a due numerical proportion, should represent imperial interests in the British senate. To these suggestions, he gave some amount of adhesion, for a while, in hopes of securing an accession of supporters from the ranks of his Protestant fellow-

countrymen. These experimental overtures he rescinded, when fully convinced of their illusive tendency; but much mischief had been effected in the dissent of opinion they had awakened.

[10.] A club had been founded in Dublin, the members of which wore a military cap, and green uniforms, trimmed with gold lace. This "'82 club," as it was called, assembled at a grand banquet in the Rotundo, on the 30th of May, 1845, to commemorate the anniversary day of O'Connell's imprisonment, which had been regarded as a memorable and most honourable event, illustrating his past great political career. The Liberator himself presided in almost regal state; and various public bodies, together with the nobility, gentry and clergy of Ireland assembled at his levee. Multitudes of the people witnessed these civic deputations filing by with military step and ceremonious precision. Yet, even then, certain parliamentary measures and ministerial intrigue, combined with the indiscretion and insubordination of many ardent Repealers, were secretly undermining the frame-work of O'Connell's national organization.

[11.] The miseries of famine, consequent on a failure of the potato crop this same year, the curse of absenteeism, the increase of pauperism and poor-rates, miserable remedial legislation, and the ruined resources of the country, all combining, presented most gloomy prospects. A malignant fever, also, spread over the land and carried off thousands of the people. [12.] Weighed down by

mental anxiety and failing health, their devoted leader yet put forth almost superhuman exertions to save the starving population. But vainly did he toil, to win either effective sympathy or support from the British parliament or the Queen's constitutional advisers.

[13.] An article, written in a bellicose spirit, at this time, awakened the indignation of O'Connell against the *Nation* newspaper. Government had instituted a state prosecution; but the writer of this inflammatory article was acquitted, by the verdict of an unpacked jury. The popularity of that widely circulating journal increased, as an almost necessary consequence. Whilst O'Connell preached the doctrines of moral force, other conflicting opinions were urged in the Repeal Association. [14.] Discordant views and unhappy personal altercations ensued. A debate, on the famous "peace resolutions," took place in 1846, the circumstances concerning which seem to be so well known, and to have divided public opinion so much, both at this time and afterwards, that we judge it better to pass over in silence the immediate origin of such an important event, than to arouse once more the spirit of unavailing discussion. Suffice it to say, O'Connell's declared resolution to seek Repeal by "peaceable, legal and constitutional means" alone, was subscribed to, by so-called members of the Young Ireland party. A proviso was added, that they would continue to seek for Repeal of the Union, if possible to be attained, by these means; but if not procurable

on pacific and legal conditions, they would not pledge themselves to forswear a future appeal to arms, if circumstances seemed to warrant such a course of action. The "peace resolutions" were passed by a considerable majority. [15.] Mr. Smith O'Brien and the opposition party withdrew. They then organized themselves into a society known as the "Irish Confederates." Dissension and shameful recrimination wasted the energies of both contending parties, and gave strength to the common enemy, whilst the people embraced opposite opinions.

[16.] Discontent and disaffection, in 1848, had reached a dangerous degree of trial and endurance. The organization of Confederate Clubs, throughout Ireland, had awakened the suspicions of government; martial law was proclaimed; the habeas corpus act was suspended; absolutism and irritation reigned unchecked. At length, the Confederate leaders and their followers broke into open violation of the law, at certain places, in the South of Ireland. These premature and ill-concerted attempts were put down, by a large civil and military force: many of the leaders were arrested and convicted of high treason—some escaped to foreign countries. [17.] A dark cloud seemed to hang over the fortunes of this impoverished island; famine bankruptcy and emigration combining to expose her people to the commiserating gaze and philanthropic sustenance and attention of alien, yet friendly, nations.

[18.] These lowering and sad foreshadowings

told with grievous effect on the spirits and over-worked physique of Ireland's aged chief. Early in 1846, he had departed to plead for her deplorable condition within the British senate; but his eloquent appeals were met then with denial and disdain. During the recess, political exertion seemed altogether paralysed, in the face of a calamity sorely felt and scarcely equalled in the history of nations. [19.] Once more, O'Connell left Ireland on the 22nd of January, 1847, and for the last time. Drooping and wasted, his once majestic form appeared in the House of Commons, but painfully suggestive of mournful anticipations. It was the expiring effort of this wondrous public man. [20.] General prostration and decay succeeded, before the physicians could prevail on him to repose from labour and seek restoration of health in a milder climate. He had determined on reaching the Eternal City, where he intended kneeling before the venerable sovereign Pontiff, Pope Pius IX. With this religious object in view, the illustrious pilgrim slowly journeyed through France and Italy. [21.] Emotion for his sufferings and reverence for his transcendent genius and patriotism were movingly expressed, by the most distinguished foreigners, on his way, when it was deemed at all prudent to intrude on his pensive yet religiously resigned reflections. He was quite conscious of his rapidly approaching dissolution. [22.] On the 6th of May, O'Connell arrived in Genoa, when dangerous symptoms fatally foreboded the speedy termination of his sufferings. His demise



occurred on the 15th of this same month, 1847, in the 72nd year of his age. According to his own request before death's last approach, his heart was borne to Rome, where it rests under a magnificent tomb, whilst his body was conveyed to Ireland, and deposited in the cemetery of Glasnevin, near Dublin. His funeral obsequies were conducted with impressive ceremonies and solemn grandeur.

[23.] It would be difficult to over-estimate the qualifications of mind and body, this extraordinary moral force leader possessed. Comprehensive and clear in all its conceptions—gifted with rare acquirements and information—enthusiastic and ardent to a degree scarcely reconcilable with rare prudence and caution—forecasting its own varied and far-reaching action by most rational, safe and practical means to attain its ends, through all the details of progress—keeping correct maxims and essentially self-evident moral principles steadily in view, whilst using temporary expedients and policy as occasions best served—his mind soared far above the selfish considerations and meaner ambition of many gifted men. An intense love of country and adhesion to the best interests of religion were the beacons that guided his honest and persistent career. [24.] Intrepid and daring, when circumstances required, he knew the value and efficiency of self-restraint and patient perseverance, under difficult and responsible trials. With a naturally warm, impulsive, generous heart and disposition, his judgment was ever sound and keenly pene-

trating. [25.] The powers of his amazing intellect were versatile, vigorous and sustained. His deep and exquisitely modulated tones of voice fell with magical effect, on myriads of his humble countrymen; and even his startling and often unpremeditated bursts of impassioned eloquence elicited the admiration of hostile British senators. With a frame athletic and muscular, a countenance at once comely, intellectual and expressive, with an iron constitution and great physical powers of endurance, few men were endowed with greater natural advantages of person than O'Connell possessed. [26.] Nor were such acquirements bestowed on him in vain. His whole life was one continuous course of laborious exertion. For the triumph of justice, peace, order, liberty and religion, he manfully contended. He taught an oppressed and desponding people, sure, safe and noble lessons, in contending for right against might, and in dealing effective strokes against intolerance and despotism. The nation is signally favoured, that can claim the possession of such an illustrious individual. His life and career serve admirably to solve the problem of her happy destiny, provided succeeding generations of her sons emulate worthily his noble example, tireless energy, disinterested patriotism, ardent zeal, prudent counsels, moral maxims, principles and virtues.

#### QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. How did the monster meetings proceed?
2. What circumstances impeded their continuance?

3. How did O'Connell and the Repeal Association meet this emergency ?

4. What action did government then take ?

5. When did the state trial commence and what was the issue ?

6. What followed on appealing to the House of Lords ?

7. How were the traversers honoured on their liberation from prison ?

8. What organ of public opinion exercised a marked influence over the minds of many Irishmen ?

9. What tended to depress O'Connell's efforts ?

10. Did anything remarkable take place in 1845 ?

11. What great calamity next impended over the Irish people ?

12. How did it affect O'Connell ?

13. What led to a breach in the Repeal Association ?

14. How was it consummated ?

15. What were the results ?

16. Did any disturbances of the public peace prevail ?

17. In what state did the people remain ?

18. What exertions did their leader now put forth ?

19. When did he finally leave Ireland ?

20. What occurred after his departure ?

21. How was he received on the continent of Europe ?

22. Relate the circumstances accompanying his death.

23. Give some general idea of his mental and physical characteristics.

24. What character did he bear ?

25. What special advantages did he possess ?

26. Briefly summarize the moral to be derived from his qualifications and career.

THE END

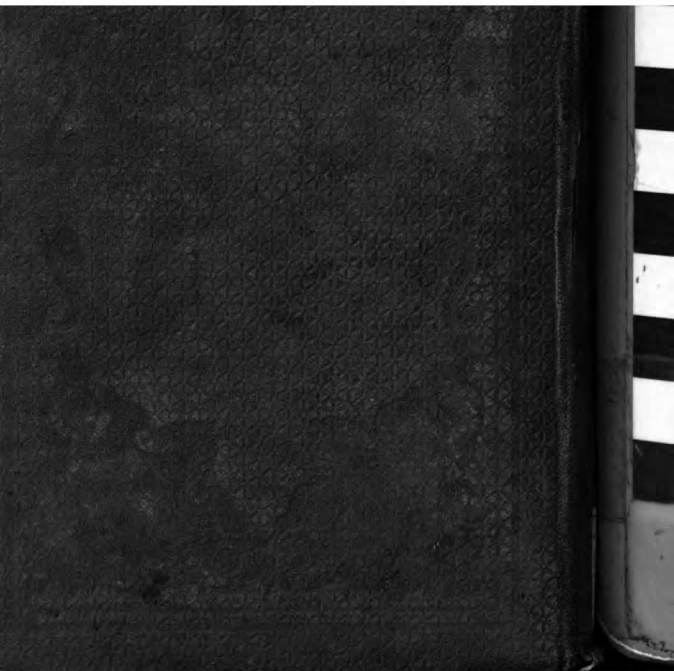


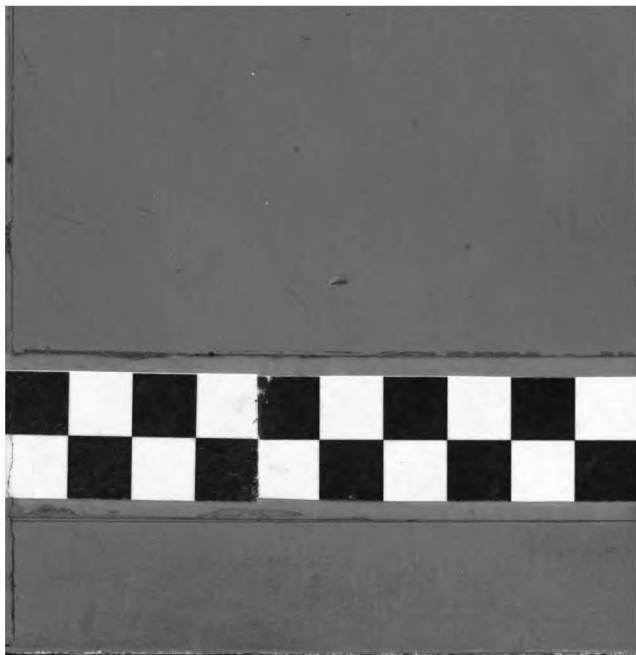


DA 913 O'Hanlon  
.036 Catechism of  
Irish history

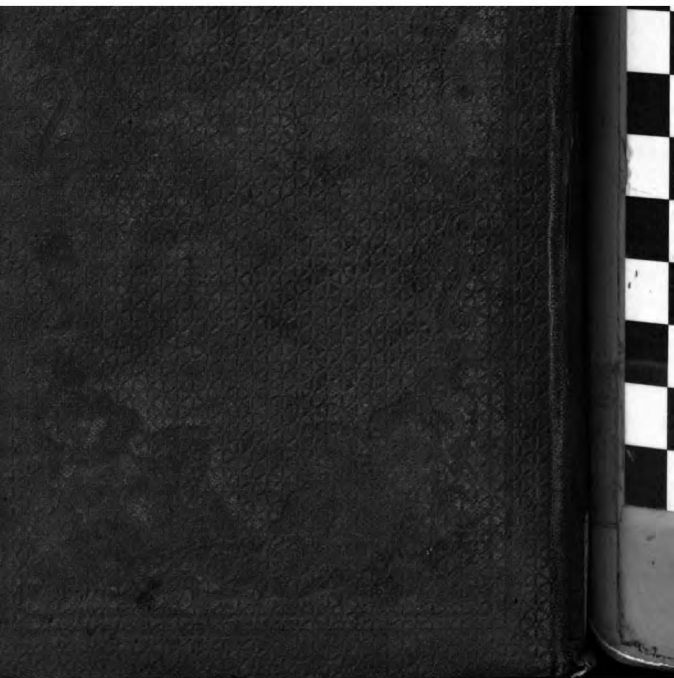
DA 913 O'Hanlon  
.036 Catechism of  
Irish history

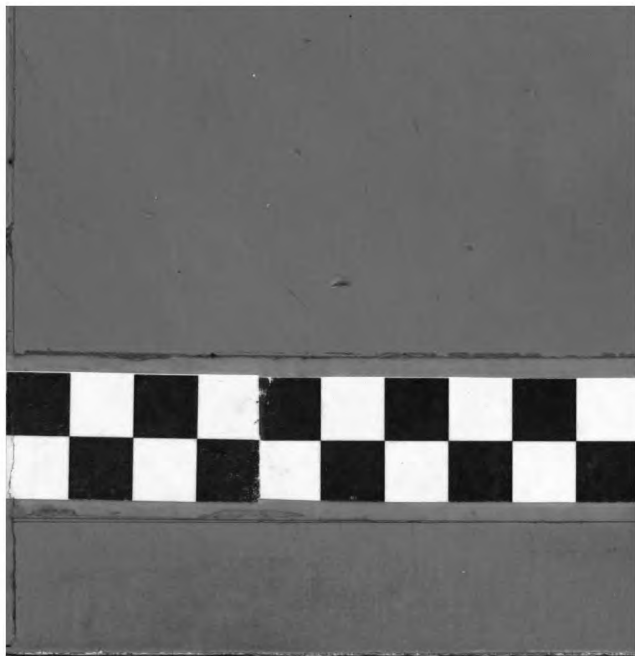
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARY











U of Chicago



42864140